Suff. 60,93/C

GRAY, P.

My Lord I have send ye Bill of Lres
and some forder / towane ye assoiatiom, ye
orche of ye qwen ye accusatiom, ye wrytes some
wherof for bidd me to let yor Lop know ye matter I
shall be ye have send yor a Lre of ye y. wrotin to ye ma^tie
mynd of England. her sone. Fontaine ye agentis Lre to ye king
ye articles ye craved in ye name. Sundrie
othr things I have of my willingly I wold let
yor Lop see, but in my absence it wer good to comit
them to ye reception of any my servantis: as for
this, I will please yor L. Copie ye bill and other
send ye bill or delyuer them to my brot in my absence
I wold have bin lothe to have send some of this
to many in Scotland.
I will request yor L. cause send me a copie of yor
discours de Jure anglorum gth Jesus in scotland.
My brother in Lorraine is to be in Lmlster ye 22 before
ye Comsell shir inhabitis to all men in Lorain, as
for ye matter, he refusit not, but ye ordour wes not
formett nether send ye offic, any daintie nor sufficie
ent missive, as yor L will see. Therfor I pray
yor L. good Lord that he be not forther troublit for
ye receaving of ye pledge gth he will do willingly, he
being satisfi according to ye act of parliament. I re-
comen me ye to yor L. patrocinio.
Receave a Lre of ye king of frances and ane of
ye D. of Guise to ye king only for ye favour.

I forgot when I directed my Servant to Mr.
to ask the key of my Cabinet wch is the Counc. I
send not the book of Statutes, for it shalbe at yor in
Lyncs or Selworthy ether to wch and wr I Servt
wt to ordr the Execution. Under this is Expl.

I will pledge yrself to
remember that the K.
of Scotts and Kinnard
treate no ryots.

Your. Loving friend to
command.

Reward is given to be Capt and delyvered to
my use.

To his honored friend

My Lord Secretarie to his
Matie.

87718

LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY,

AFTERWARDS

SEVENTH LORD GRAY.

EDINBURGH: M.DCCC.XXXV.

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THE following Collection of Letters and Papers relating to PATRICK MASTER of GRAY, afterwards SEVENTH LORD GRAY, was, in its present shape, ready for distribution among the Members of the Bannatyne Club more than five months ago. The distribution, however, was delayed from time to time, in the hope that the volume would be accompanied by a short Prefatory Notice, which, considering the quarter from which it was expected, could not fail to have added much to its value. But as there is now little hope of obtaining that very desirable accompaniment, it has been thought better to distribute the book, even in its present imperfect state, than to withhold it longer from the Members of the Club.

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TO

THE BANNATYNE CLUB

BY

LORD GRAY.

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M.DCCC.XXXVI.

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LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.

WILLIAM DAVISON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

Sir, the next day after my laſt diſpatch, which was Wedneſday, his Maieſty came to this towne, and hath lodged ſince in the provoſtis houſe, by cauſe he ment not to tarry longer then this day. On Thurſday the Lordis of the Articles began to ſitt, keeping the forme of ther laſt parliament, in ſwearing them at ther dutey, not to reveale any thing till the Actis, which were before penned and reſolued on by the direction of and counſaill of Arane and his Lady, who beare the ſway in all their proceadingis, ſhould be publiquely read in parliament; wheare no one Act was reaſoned or voted, but concluded and paſſed *pleno iure*, to the generall offence and myſlyk of all men: Of which Acts, with the names of ſuch as are preſently forfaultid, your honour ſhall herewith receaue the ſoum. The old Counteſſe of Marr,[2] and the Lady Hume,[3] the latter at the ſute of the Maſter of Gray, are contynewed to the next Seſſion, which is appointed the xxijth

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 84, fol. 97. Davison was, at this time, English envoy at the Scotch court.

[2] Anabella Murray, wife of John, fifth Earl of Marr. She had the charge of King James when an infant, which may, perhaps, account for the leniency shown to her on this occasion.

[3] Agnes Gray, daughter of Patrick, fifth Lord Gray, and the aunt of the Master of Gray.

of September; but the reſt of the poore ladies preſently forfailted withowt reſpect or favour. The poore Counteſe of Gowrye,[1] who, ſence her huſbandis death, is waſted with greif and affliction, mett the King in a lytter, beyond the water, in his coming hither warde, and falling downe before him, to moue his pity and compaſſion towardis herſelf and her poore innocent children, hardly obteyned the heareing of the King, who departed and gave her no anſwer; and with what inhumanitye ſhe hathe bene vſed ſince her coming to this towne, by ſuch as haue bene inſtrumentis of all her woe and callamyty, I tak ſhame to wryte. The ſame day ſhe firſt compeerid, ſhe movid the moſt part of her judges to teares; but finding no grace, the next day, being the laſt of the parliament, ſhe returned to the place, purpoſing to tarry his Maieſties coming, but comaundement being ſent to the Conſtable in his highnes name, for her removing out of the howſe, the poore lady, ſeing no other remedy, was compelled to obey it, and being ledd fourth into the open ſtreat, ſtayed there his highnes paſſing by, which was on foot in reſpect of the nerenes of his lodging, where falling on her knees and beſeching his Maieſties compaſſion, Arane, going betwixt her and the King, led him haſtely by her, and ſhe reaching at his cloake to ſtay his Maieſtie, Arane, putting her from him, did not only ouerthrow her, which was eaſy to do, in reſpect of the poore ladies weakenes, but marched ouer her, who, partly with extreme greif, and partly with weakenes, ſowned preſently in the open ſtreat, and was fayn to be conveyed into one of the next howſes, where with much adoe they recouered life of her; which inhumanity even their moſt affectionat frendis do vtterly condempne and crye ſhame of.

Amongſt vthers appointed to be forfailted in this parliament, was the lard of Gartheland[2] in Galloway, for that his ſeruant lent, in his abſence, a horſe or two to therle of Marr, being in his journey out of Ireland towardis Sterling; but having paid to the Erle 1000[lb] Scottiſh for his compoſicion, and given caution for 3000[lb] more, which is to be anſwered to the Maſter of Marr, beſtowid vppon him by the King, for his relief, he hath obteyned his pardon, though with much difficulty, bycauſe that booth

[1] Dorothea, second daughter of Henry Stewart, first Lord Methven.

[2] Uthred Macdowall of Garthland, elder.

fell not into the hands of my Lady[1] my commere,[2] who made her full accompt thereof. One Hamilton, gudman of the Haggs, being likewiſe ſumonid, and to be forfailtid at this tyme, for a cauſe of lyk importaunce, hath made his compoſicion with her for 3000[lb] Scottiſh, and procurid his exemptcion out of the ſentence. And the reſt, that are preſently contynewid to the next parliament, purpoſely ſpared, aſwell in hope of lyk compoſicion, be they neuer ſo innocent, as for that they had no ſufficient proofe againſt them at this tyme. She hath alſo, at this ſeſſion, for the ſoume of 8000 merks Scottiſh, procurid the reſtoreing of the old Byſhopp of Dunkeld,[3] an excomunycat and profeſhed papiſt, and removid the other, with the ſpeciall intereſt of my Lord of Argyle, who had from him the moſt part of the lyvingis of that byſhoprick in leaſe. Of all which they take no ſhame to profeſe an open portſalue, no one day paſſing ouer their heads, without ſeecking either land or money from ſome one or other, to take them vnder their protection, which for gayne they ſpare not, be the cauſe right or wrong. The reſt of thoſe that be either contynued or ſumoned againſt the next ſeſſion, to be holden in September, do look for no juſtice, but ſuch as ſhalbe meaſured out by the ell of my Lady Aranes conſcience and good nature, who is lyke then to cary no leſe ſtroke then at this tyme, bycauſe the King, who myndeth not to be preſent at it, hath appointed 4 of ech eſtate to hold that ſeſſion, and to proceed in the forfaicture, of which my Lord her huſband, being ordinarily ſtyled Chauncellour, is to preſide alone, ſo as all men expect none other but juſt and equall proceading at the handis of ſo equall and competent judgis.

As for other things, namely, touching the ſucceſe of the late meeting on the Borders, I am acquainted with litle on the one ſyde or other generally, albeyt not vtterly ignorant what paſſeth. This I am well aſſured of by perſons of good credit, that Arane, before his going to the Borders, (agreably to that he had vtterd diuers tymes before to ſome of his famyliars),

[1] Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, fourth Earl of Athol,—a woman whose profligacy was notorious.

[2] *Commere*, gossip, familiar acquaintance. Sir James Melville mentions that Davison became so familiar with Arran as to be 'maid his gossup.'—*Memoirs*, p. 328.

[3] Robert Crichton, who was promoted to the see in 1550, but deposed after the Reformation. By the influence of Arran and the Earl of Argyle he was again restored, as above stated, upon the surrender of the bishoprick by James Paton, then bishop.

ſent this meſſag to the King by a gentleman of credit, that he ſhould tak no thought of any thing but his paſtyme and pleaſur, and for this meeting let him alone, who, as he ſaid, out of two pointis had gatherid a third, which he aſſured him ſelf ſhould proue the turne to outſhoote vs in our owne bowe. But of the particuler of thingis, ther is not anie in dowt that pretend to know any thing, but by diſcourſe and couuerture beſidis, the Maſter of Gray, (who being lately enterid into a ſtrayt league with Arane, ſince the French credens came home, wherin he had ſome intereſt, as a man ſpecially truſtid), is named to be ambaſſadour towardis her Maieſtie, and, as I heare, to be very ſhortly diſpatchid, albeyt I be not yet made acquainted with all. This gentleman, who hath bene allwaies notid in religion an obſtinat papiſt, in affection French, in devocion a profeſſed ſeruant of the Scottiſh Queens; one that hath confeſſed him ſelf to be inwardly acquainted with the whole courſe and proceadings and intentis of her ſelf, and her frendis abroad, and to have bene very liberally gratified in Fraunce, both by the Duke of Guiſe, and at his laſt coming home, by the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour in Fraunce, from whom, as his ſelf confeſſeth, he hadd a very fayer cupboard of plate in guifte, to the value of 5 or 6000 roleues; and one that ſince his coming, hath bene as a ſteward in the diſpenſing of ſome part of that money the Queen ſent home, (which ſome of the Kingis owne counſell, and men moſt privy to her doings, haue confeſſhed to my ſelf to have bene litle leſs then 20,000^{lb}, and that Ballandyn, of whom I have hertofore aduertiſed, was the meſſenger), of which he beſtowed, by her direction, lately the ſoume of 300.^{ls} on Fuliambe[1] and his companyon. This gentleman, I ſay, beinge ſo quallified, affectid, and recomended to this ſeruice by Arane his ſpeciall labour and procurement, I leave it to her Maieſtie and your honours theare to conſider what ground it hath, and wherto it tendeth, my ſelf fynding nothing but bare teſtimonyes of men accuſtomyd to deceyt, (againſt many contrary effectis), that may move me to put her Maieſty in hope of any found or direct dealing from hear, which, for myne own part, I dare not aſſure, what ſoeuer be pretended.[2] And yet am I borne in hand, that both the

[1] Godfrey Fuljambe and his brother were secret partizans and correspondents of Queen Mary.

[2] Davison, in a letter of the 6th September 1584, gives Sir Christopher Hatton almost a similar account of the Master of Gray. "He [the King] is on Thursday last departed

King, for his own part, ſtandeth well affected to cheriſh and preſerue her Maieſties favour and frendſhipp, and that Arane, to gayne his ſelf credit with her Maieſty, whoſe only favour of a forepromes may avayle him moſt, hath procured this Ambaſſadour, and choſen out this perſon beſt acquainted with the plottis and courſes of her enemyes, to diſcouuer and lay them open wholy to her Maieſty with the Kings good lyking and conſent, as they that pretend nothing more then direct and plaine proceadings, of which I leave the tryall to her Maieſtys iudgement and experience.

The King departed this morning towardis Faulkland, but the lordis of his Counſell remayne here for a tyme, to take order in ſuch things as could not be diſpatched before his departure, and are dryven to go vpp to the Caſtell and ſitt there in Counſell, to th'end that nothing be done without the privitye of my Lady, my cummere. I was on Sonday invited to dyne theare, wheare I held ſome purpoſe with his Maieſty of many thingis, and obſeruid the ſtrangenes of their behaviour towards the poore young prince, who is ſo diſtractid and weryid with their endles importunityes, as it pitied me to ſee yt, and, if I be not abuſid, groweth full of their faſhions

from hence to Faulkland, where they are in deliberacion to dispatche the Master of Graye, appoynted by Arraynes procurement to be ambassadour to her Maiesty; but his departure is yet uncerten. This gentleman, besids that he is a knowen papist, a favorer of the French course, a seruant and pencioner of the Queens, and a suspected pensioner of the Popes, hath himselfe confessed to have had at his cominge out of Fraunce, a cupboard of plate, geaven him by the Spanishe ambassadour resident ther, to the valewe of 5 or 6000 crownes, besids other gyfts frau the Duke of Guise, and other the Queenes frinds; and since his cominge home, hath bine Threasurer of such monye as was sent home by Ballandine, as cominge from the Queen, whereof I knowe where he weighed at one tyme 10,000^{ls}, reserved to the Kings owne use, besids his owne parte, and that was els disposed amongest other of the courtiers, to releve ther hungry appetits; out of which store he hath of late, by his owne confession, delivered at the Queens comaundement 300^{ls} to Fuljambe and his companyon, who, fleeinge this last year owt of England, have bine since enterteigned with Huntly in the North, and of late at his fathers in Fife, as was likewise Nugent the Irish rebell and his companyon. So, as by the qualitie of the person, with other circumstaunces, your honour may ghess what fruicte is to be gathered of his ambassage, and what respect they have here for religion that employe men so qualified. He maketh great preparacion, and taketh with him divers yonge gentlemen as vayne as himselfe. But hitherto, I am not once maide acquaynted by him selfe, eyther with diett or his charge, my Lord of Hunsden, and they thinckinge it best to have it passe throughe no more hands than ther owne, to whome I freely yeld all the honour and reputacion that may grow thereof, which, I feare, will not be much when ther accompt is maide; but th'ende will crowne the worke."—Harl, MSS. No. 291, fo. 143.

and behaviours which he will ſometymes diſcourſe of in broad language, as he that is not ignorant how they vſe him. She hath, ſince the breaking vpp of the chiſts of the jewellis, made newe keyes without the Kings privité or comaundement, the old remayning yet with Sir R. Melvill, who is mynded to reſygne them vpp to his Maieſty, ſo ſone as he ſhall come to the Court, bycauſe he will no longer ſtand charged with that which ſhe hath the diſpoſicion of, [whom] every man ſuſpectith to ſkillfull in ſubtraction. It is certenly reported, that ſhe hath alſo, in ſurveighing the wardrobe, tryid what garmentis, &c that were the Queens, may beſt ſitt her, and choſe out, at her own diſcretion, what ſhe lyketh; which ſtrange faſhion of hers and her huſbands will, in the iudgement of the wyſe in Court, haſten their change of fortune, howſoeuer they fede ther ſelues now with an opinion of their long ſtanding. I fynd by my *bmio eg.*[1] 100, that 100 is not ſleeping or careless, though he be farr of, and is perſuaded the tyme will help all this. I haue enterteigned *eru*[2] with very many good complimentis and aſſurance of the good meaning, favour, and affection of 10, but empty woords I fynd move litle. I do now live here only as a cipher, and may very well be ſpared if it pleaſe her Maieſty, beſidis that your honour knoweth what cauſe I haue to deſier home, to take ſome order in your owne eſtate, and ſeing it ſhalbe the vnburdening her Maieſty of a nedeles charge, and an eaſe to my ſelf. I beſeech your honour give me leave to importune you ſtill as a meane to her Maieſty for my revocacion, which I deſire not, as he that weryeth to do her Maieſty ſeruice, but bycauſe I ſee not what my preſence and ſtay here can avayle, my Lord of Hunſedon his only credit ſufficing with ſuch as now guyde the ſtreme. Beſeeching therefore your honours favour, and expecting your good aunſwer, I do for this tyme recomend your honour to the providence of the Allmighty.

Your honours moſt humbly at comaunding,

W. Dauison.

Edinburgh the xxiiij of August 1584.

Postcript. The Abbot of Newbottill[3] dyed the laſt week, and was buried yeſterday. The miniſter, that preached at his buryall, and en-

[1] Cipher. [2] Cipher. [3] Mark Kerr, second son of Sir Andrew Kerr of Cessford.

veighed againſt the corruption and confuſion eating into this Church by the ambicion and wickednes of their Biſhopps, was the ſame day ſent for and comytted. The ſame day, which was Sonday, the Byſhopps of St Andrewes and Abirdene preached before the King in the great church of this towne, labouring more to eſtabliſht heir owne eſtate then to edify the hearers, who generally ſkorned and condempned them, and, without the Kings preſence, had otherwyſe teſtified their myſlyking, but all this notwithſtanding, they puſh forward their owne pompe, though with the common hurt of the whole ſtate of this Church, wherof they appeare to have very litle ſence. The Provoſt of Glenliwde[1] is brought againe to this towne, and comytted to the Caſtle; their foreign conſpiracy is at an end, nowe my Lord of Arane hath hitt the mark he aymid at. The King him ſelf, as is aſſured me by ſome of his owne Counſell, hath an vtter myſlyk of the chang, and hath blaimed the Secretary and Sir R. Melvin for dealing further in the matter then they had warrant from himſelf. But ſome think the M^rs^ yelding in this and others extraordinary dealing againſt him without the Kings warraunt, will turne to Aranes diſadvantage with the tyme, howſoever he do preſently beare yt owt. I find the myſlyk generall of his inſolent and imperious proceeding, and even thoſe he vſeth and truſteth moſt will prove vnto him rotten reedis with the tyme, if I am not deceaved, ſom of them having to myſelf ſpoken playne languag tending that way, and as they aſſure me the King him ſelf [is] growing weary of the inſolence and rapyne both of him and his wife; wherin the tyme only muſt bring the remedy. The witches haue foretold that he ſhalle dye a violent death, and his wife, as I am credibly aduertiſed, hath ſpoken aſmuch to her famyliar frends. And albeyt thes thingis move others little, yet doth it appeare to ſetle a contynuall feare in him, who goeth for the moſt part armid; and being late with the King one evening, and returning to the Caſtle with his wife, cauſed the torches to be putt out, and caſt an other cloke vppon him ſelf, and left his wife, who kept her way through the high ſtreat, and with one onely ſeruant paſſed an other by way ſecretly, and met her at the Caſtle gate, teſtifieing thereby the contynuall fear he liveth in.

[1] Mr Robert Douglas, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Lincluden in Galloway.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

1. *Octobre* 1584.

J'AY eſcript mon opinion à mon fils touchant l'ouverture que vous m'avez fait en ſon nom pour voſtre voyage vers la Royne d'Angleterre. Si luy mande pleinement que Je ne puis aulcunement approuver ceſte artificielle demonſtration d'un malcontentement et nouvelle diviſion entre luy et moy, comme preiudiciable a tous deux pour les raiſons qui ſ'enſuyuent. Aſſauoir, que la Royne d'Angleterre ou n'adiouſtera point de foy, et le prendra en diſſimulacion a ieu deſſeigné expres entre mon fils et moy, ce que ſuffira pour empeſcher voſtre voyage vers moy, au lieu de la faciliter: ou ſi elle croiſt que la diuiſion eſtre vraye, c'eſt donner a nos ennemys pres d'elle le ſeul aduantage qu'ils deſirent pour la deſtourner de proceder plus auant en aulcun traicté auec nous. Car, ſans aulcune doubte, ils luy ont iuſques icy faict croire et fondre ſa ſeureté et de ſon eſtat, en noſtre diuiſion. &c.

Croyez pour certain qu'il n'y a que la ſeule crainte d'un extreme qui puiſſe amener la Royne d'Angleterre a faire pour nous, et que rien rendra mon fils ſi comtemptible vers elle, qui ſi par la paſture des belles promeſſes elle le peult une fois deſtituer et priuer de l'appuy et ſupport de moy et mes amys, et parens les princes eſtrangers; &c. pourtant ſi mon filz eſt perſuadé, ſoit par belles promeſſes d'Angleterre ou d'ailleurs qu'en ſe monſtrant ſeparé de moy, il obtiendra d'elle a part des meilleures conditions; qu'il ſ'aſſeure du contraire, eſtant la ſeule choſe a quoy elle tend, de luy donner, comme l'on doit, la croche en iambe, et qu'elle ne ſe ſouciera par apres de parfourmer et obſerver choſe quelconque qu'elle aura promiſe. &c.

Octobre 1584.

Je ne me doubte point qu'elle ne paſte mon fils, comme elle faict moy meſmes de l'eſperance de la ſucceſſion de ceſte couronne, mais ce n'eſt qu' artifice pour ſeulement nous tenir en laiſſe apres elle, ayant des le

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 94, fol. 108: where this article is marked as "An abstract out of certayne Letters of the Queene of Scottes to the Mr of Gray," with the title 'Recueils des Lettres de la Royne d'Escosse au Mr de Gray.'

commencement de ſon regne tenu touſiours ce maxime principale de ſa feureté ou elle eſt plus reſolu que iamais, de ne declarer, tant qu'elle viura, aulcun heritier, ny fouffrir aulcune de ſes ſubiectz deſtourner leurs yeulx d'elle: &c.

COMMISSION BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY, AS AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND.[1]

James, by the grace of God, King of Scottes, To all and ſvndrie, whome yt efferis, whoſe knowledge theis our letteris ſhall to come, Greetinge; Foraſmuche as, we haue conſiderid of the beſte and moſt aparent meanes to ſettel our eſtate in quietnes and ſuretie, and our Realme in a perfett tranquillitie and repoſe, and findinge the ſame cheeflie to conſiſt in keeping ſtedfaſte and inviolable the happie peace, and long contynewd amitye betwixt vs and our deereſt ſiſter and couſin, the Queene of Englande, being the Princes in the worlde neereſt alwaies, and moſte reſpectable to ws, and enterteyning of the ſame on our behaulfe, by good intelligens and mutuall correſpondancis, in all good offices tendinge to the obſervacion and increaſe of the ſame, Will, therefore, having good proofe and experience of the wiſdome, willingenes, circumſpection and ſufficiency alwaies, of our truſtie and wellbelovide couſin, Patrick Master of Graye, ſpeciall gentilleman of our Privie chamber, and of his entire and dutifull affection borne to our eſtate and ſervis, have, in that reſpect, made, nominate, conſtitute and ordeyned, and by theis our letteris, nominates, makes, conſtitutis and ordeynes him our Ambaſſador, orratour, commiſſioner, deputie, and ſpeciall meſſanger, to the effect vnder written, givinge, graunting, and committing to him our full power, ſpeciall comaunde, expreſſe bydding, and chardg, for vs and in our name and behaulfe to conveane with our deereſt ſiſter and couſin, the Queene of Englande, her councell, and ſuch as ſhe ſhall appointe and authoriſe to

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 102, fol. 119.

that effect, at what ſouever tymes and places; and to treate, conferr, deliberate and conclude in all matters and cawſes betwixt vs and our ſaide deereſt ſiſter, our domynions and ſubiects, tending to the confirmacion and enterteynment of the ſaide amitye, and continueance of peace and quietnes betwixt vs: And thervppon to contracte, indent, promiſe, ſubſcribe and enterchange ſeales, and generally all and ſundrye other thingis to do, exerciſe and vſe, that to th'execution of the premiſſeys neceſſarey requirid, although the ſame requierid more ſpeciall comiſſion nor is here in expreſſid, firm and ſtable houlding, and for to houlde all and what ſouever thing our ſaid Ambaſſador, deputie, and meſſenger, in our name in the premiſſes, lawfully leadis to be doun. Thies vnder our greate ſeale, and ſubſcribed with our hande, at our Pallace of Hollyrood hooſe þe xiiijth daie of Octobir, 1584, and of our raigne the xviijth yere.

KING JAMES VI. TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

TRUSTY AND WELLBELOVED, WE greete you well: having directed our truſty and wellbeloved couſen, Patrick Maiſter of Gray, gentelman of our Privy chamber, to our deereſt ſeſter, the Queene your ſoueraigne, to open and communicate vnto her ſuch thinges on our behalf, as being well accepted of, according to our expectacion, may prooue greatly to the weale of both our Crowns and Countreyes, wee will require you very earneſtly, that, according to the place of credite and councell which you occupy, you willbe the meane to further him to ſpeedy preſence, and a convenient diſpatch and anſwere of his errand; truſting him in that which he ſhall deliver vnto you on our behalf: Thus we committ you to God. From our Pallace of Halirud houſe.

Your loving ffriend,

JAMES R.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. VIII. fol. 118.

EARL OF ARRANS INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

No ſeale to be enterchanged, nor handwritt by you, but according to the old band, chiefly that either others rebells be either delivered or baniſhed, and the receators common enemies to both realmes.

In all other purpoſes of weight deſire to be further reſolved of his Maieſty; ſometime alleadging ſuch headis not to be in your inſtruccions anywiſe; ſome tyme, that ye are ſpecially in that inhibited, whereuppon your blanekes ſuffice, alſo the blanckes brought with you to make your revocacion, as the neceſſity ſhallbe offred.

One parte of your inſtruccions you muſt haue to many patent, namely, that yf the league be kept to his Maieſtie touching his rebells, that you lett the Queene in all thinges knowe her danger, which the Kings Maieſty eſteemeth his owne; and if need require, offer in his Maieſtys name forces, both vppon foote and horſback, to defend her, and purſue all that would diſturbe her eſtate or realme: the condicions as is conteyned in the league, I thinck to our owne Border, and ſo many dayes vppon our chardges; what further vppon the Queenes.

Yf a league offenſive and defenſive ſhalbe to you propounded, caſt it not of, but demaund the condicions, and poſte them to his Maieſty, whereof you ſhalbe ſhortly reſolved; ffor that, theis ten yeares, they have ever beene ſeeking, and when noe other thing will ſerve, that will protract tyme, and be in his Maieſties opinion to graunt or denie.

Yf it ſhalbe condiſcended the Rebells be banniſhed, ſpare not to condiſcend to this, that all ſubiects of England ſhall haue acceſſe to all partes of Scotland with out paſport or licence, and all Scotes in England in like manner. This will pleaſure England greatly, and yet I ſee a comodity divers wayes to our Maiſter.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VII. art. 191, fol. 224. This article is marked in the printed Catalogue of the Cotton. MSS. under the date August 1585, but it evidently refers to the embassy of the Master of Gray in 1584.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

My very goode Lorde, thys longe lookyd for man, the Maſter of Gray, ys come att laſte, for whoſe ſtay ther hath wantyd no practyſys, whyther yn Skotlande nor owte of Inglande; for in Skotlande, the Collonell Stewarde, the factyon of France and Spayne, and the papyſtis, haue dune theyr beſte; all the forine factyons in Inglande hathe nott ſlepte. And he hathe nott only hade worde ſent hym, how gretly he ys alreddy condemd at the courte, bothe with hyr Maieſty and vthers about hyr, and that he ſhall fynde ſo ſlender entertaynment there, as he wyll ſune wyſhe hymſelfe away. And to feare hym the more, yt hathe byn ſayd too hym, that yn hys paſſynge threw thys cuntrey, his cairyagis ſhalbe taken, with all hys wrytyngs, and hymſelfe nott fre from perryll, whyche, God wyllynge, I wyll take order wellynowhe for hys ſafty too Newcaſtell. And no dowght but hys cumynge offendis many yn Inglande, for they know he cane towche ſume of them deply. He came hyther apon Satterday yn the afternune, hauynge expreſe commandment too deale with me, and too make me acquayntyd with hys negocyacion ſhurely, as he hathe dune, and hathe promeſte me muche, but I wyll neyther truſt hym too farr, nor aduyſe hyr Maieſty too truſte hym, farther then ſhe ſhall fynde cawſe at hys hande, bycawſe he ys ſo gretly condemde alreddy amonge vs, as whatſoeuer he ſaythe, yea the King hymſelfe, or therle of Arren, muſte nott be beleuyd. Thys mane, for beynge grete with the Skotſh Queen, and for beynge a papyſte, I know he cane ſay mutche of the Skotſhe Queen, few men more; but for hys papyſtry, I wolde all owars wer ſuche, for yeſterday, beynge Sunday, he went to the chyrche with me, hauynge ſeruys booke of myne, ſyttynge with me yn my peu, he ſayde all the ſeruys, and, bothe befor the ſermone and after, he ſange the ſalmes with me, aſwell as I cowld doo, wherby yt ſemes he had byn euſyd too them, or elſe he cowld not a dune yt ſo well and ſo reddyly now, lett hys relygyon be whatt ytt wyll.

[1] From the original, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 105, fol. 122.

Hys comyſſyon ys very large, the coppy wherof I ſende your Lordſhip herwith. The princypall poyntis of hys Ambaſſage ar two: the fyrſte, too deſier at hyr Maieſtys handis, ayther the delyuery, or the puttynge from hyr, hys rebbelis, (as he termes them), for the King cane neyther thynk hys realme fre from practyſys, nor hys parſon fre from perryll, ſo longe as they be ſufferd too remayne ſo neare hym. Vpone whyche poynte he and I wer yn grete argument, ſo farr as I towlde hym, that yf that wer th'effecte of hys negocyacyon, I wolde rather venter too ſtay hym heare, or too lett hym returne agayne, tyll I know hyr Maieſtys farther pleaſure, then to ſuffer hym to paſe with matter that ſhowlde be rather offencyue to hyr Maieſty, then that ſatyſfactyon that hathe byn promeſt, and whyche hyr Maieſty lookes for at hys hande. In fyne, after longe debate, he grew more mylder, alledgynge that, yf hys Maſter ſhowlde dyſcouer the practyſys of vther pryncys, now hys frendis, and therby loſe them vtterly, and hyr Maieſty nott too ſhew hyrſelfe ſo carefull of hym, as, at his ſeut and erneſte requeſte, too deny the puttynge away of hys Rebels, he ſhowld ſtand yn very hard caſe too loſe hys frendis who hathe made hyme many grete offers, and yett hys enymys kepte and mayntaynyd at hys noſe, and therby iuſte cawſe for hymſelf, and all the worlde, to thynke that hyr Maieſty makes more accownte of the ſubiects then of the King. But, ſaythe he, yf yt may pleaſe hyr Maieſty to deale ſo favorably and louyngly with the King, as yf ſhe fynd hyrſelfe fully ſatyſfyde yn ſuche thyngis as ſhe wolde know of any practyſe agenſte hyr ſtate, that then ſhe wyll put hys ennymys from hyr; apone hyr aſſurance herof, ther ys no practys that hathe byn practyſde agenſt hyrſelf or hyr eſtate, eyther by France, Spayne, the Skotſhe Queen, or the Pope, thys 5 yere, but ſhe ſhall know ytt, and how too avoyde ytt, vtherwyſe he wyll returne as he came; for he wyll nott loſe hys Maſter many frendis of grete princys, and nott make hym ſeure of hyr Maieſty, for, ſaythe he, what loue and fayth-full amyté cane he looke for at hyr Maieſtys handis yf ſhe refuſe hym ſo reaſonable a requeſte, whyche ſhee ys bownde too doe by the treatye. Thys farr he hathe gone with me, ſo as nowe hyr Maieſty ys too conſyder whyther the knowlege of the bottome of thes practyſys agenſt hyr Maieſty and hyr eſtate, or the kepynge and mayntaynynge of thes men yn hyr

realme, whome he accountis for hys rebellis and mortall ennymys, wyll ſtande hyr yn moſte ſtede, and be moſte for hyr ſeurty; whyche I leaue to hyr Maieſtys graue conſyderacyon, and ther ys no dowght, but as thys mane cane dyſcouer all thes forren practyſys, ſo ys he acquayntyd with moſte of our practyſys at home, and the practyſars, whyche, in my ſymple opynyon, wolde ſtande her Maieſty yn more ſtede, then thes mens beynge here þen yf they wer att home, but that I refer to wyſer men.

Thys, I know, the King hathe ſayde, that yf they wer farther of, and myght heare of thyr dewtyfull euſage towards hym, ther ys nothynge ſo farr paſte, but by theyre good deſertes myghte be callyd bak agayne, and ſume of them callyd home agayne. Dumfarmelyn,[1] who was banyſhtt, beyng very ſyke wher he was, hathe returnyd home for hys helthe without leaue, and yet the King nott offendyd with him, but yn hys coming nye too Edenburgh lay thre dayſe at hys howſe with hym.

Now, my Lord, towchynge the King and therle of Arren. As I haue wrytten hertofore, no mane knowſe the ſecretis of mens hartis but God, but yf they be nott worſe then dyuelis, but that I may beleue open and ſolleme prowſe, erneſte and lyberall proteſtacyons, hyr Maieſty may haue the King aſſuryd too hyr from all the worlde: therfor, yf he be worth the hauynge, let hyr take howlde of hym whylſte ſhe may, for yf ſhe lett hym ſlype now, ſeurly he wyll neuer be hade agayne. And for therle of Arren, he muſte of neceſſyté rune thys cowrſe, for yn reſpecte of hys uphowldynge and contynewynge the King yn thys cowrſe, he ys gretely hatyd of the Kings mother, and all hyr factyon of France, and of all the papyſtes, and more hatyd ſynce he began thys cowrſe then euer he was byfore, which I know too be moſte trew, which makes me thynk that he deales playnly.

Thus haue I troblyd your Lordſhip with a longe dyſcowrſe of ſuche matters as paſte betwene hym and me, ſo neare as I cane, but with many thyngs more to longe too wryght, and ſo I commit your Lordſhip to th'Almyghty. Your aſſuryd frende

H. Hunsdon.

At Barwyke the 19th of October 1584.

[1] Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

Nowe, my gode Lord, hauyng wrytten ſomuche yn my vther letter, as I thinke your Lordſhip wyll acquaynte hyr Maieſty with all, hauynge alſo wryttyn ſumthynge to hyr Maieſty, whyche, I praye your Lordſhip too delyuer vntoo hyr, I am too acquaynt your Lordſhyp with ſume vther matters to be eyſyd at your dyſcretyon. Thys gentylmane ys expreſtly comandyd yn all hys dooyngis too be reulyd by your Lordſhips aduyſe and myne, and hauynge browghte ſundry letters from the King, the coppys wherof he hathe ſhewde me, for that he ys to delyuer none but ſuche as I appoynt hym. The King wyll by no meanes wryght nor deale with Mr. Secretary, for, ſaythe he, I knowe hym too be my grete ennymy, and hathe hys hande too ſhow, which I thynke thys gentylmane hathe. My Lord of Leyceſter hathe thowghte grete vnkyndnes that he hathe nott byn imployde yn thes matters, as hys hande ys too be ſhowde. So, as I haue wyllyd hym yn anywyſe to delyuer all hys letters, and bycawſe ther is more partycularytys yn your Lordſhips letter than yn any of the reſte, and perhaps yf your Lordſhip delyuer ytt hyr byfor you reade ytt your-ſelfe, ſhe wyll kepe ytt, he ſhall delyuer your Lordſhip the coppy therof.

As I haue wrytten yn my vther letter, he wyll craue too haue thes lordis, and ſume vthers, too be delyueryde accordinge too the vertew of treuſe and treaty, the coppy of whyche artycle he bryngs with him, yett he wyll nott perſyſte therapon, ſo as they may be ſent yntoo any vther cuntrey owte of the Realme; whyche may be grantyd hym for a tyme, for yf that be denyd vntoo hym, I cane aſſure your Lordſhyp that he wyll vtter nothynge of thoſe matters hyr Maieſty wolde know; wheryn yf he doo not ſatyſfy hyr Maieſty to hyr contentment, ſhe may reuoke them agayne at her pleaſure, and I aſſure your Lordſhyp yt ys neyther goode pollyſy, nor fytt they ſhowld be ſufferde to remayne with ſuche troopes and yn ſuche ſorte. Ther ys neare hande 100 of them yn Newcaſtell, and euery fayre nyght they walk yn the markett plaſys, yea and apon the walles

[1] From the Original, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 106, fol. 123.

with theyr pyſtols at theyr gyrdelis at xi and xij a cloke, whyche a grete many of the beſte of the towne doothe gretely myſlike withall; and my Lord, thohe they be now heare for theyr ſuccor, they may herafter be callyd home agayne, and then no dowght they will be, as theyr forfathers hath byn, ſo as ytt ys nott fytt ſo many of them ſhould be ſo priuy of the ſecretis of that towne, as they be, nott only of the towne, but of all the cuntrey, bothe by water and by lande, for they ryde and go wher they lyſte. They myght be at the leſte ynward, ſume at Yorke, ſume too London, and ſume to othyr placys, and I aſſure your Lordſhyp, ther ys ſuche rydynge from Newcaſtell ynto Skotlande, and owt of Skotlande too them, as ys ſtrange. One the other ſyde, ther ys faſte poſtynge from them to the courte and London, and from thens too theme, and tyll your Lordſhyp was comandyd too deale with me heryn, ther was nothynge wrott vp but they wer aduertyſyd of ytt, whyche I knowe too be moſt trewe; and eſpecyall letters wrytten that they ſhowlde want nothynge, eſpecyally the Maſter of Glammes and Coluyn;[1] ſo as whatſoeuer they doo, none dare fynde any fawlte with them. The King ys gretely greuyd with hys mynyſtery for goynge awaye without any cawſe gyuen too them, wherby, ſaythe he, vther princys thynke hym yrrelygyus, and reddy to revolte from relygyon, wherappon they haue ſowght too ſende Jeſuytis and bookes yntoo hys Realme, too poyſon yt as owars; and whyche ys worſe, yt ys gyuen owte that he ys nott the Kings ſune but Dauys,[2] whyche, ſaythe he, cumes from theſe men; whyche he towlde Cuddy Armerar,[3] wyth water yn hys eyſe, beynge but they two alone. And too dyſcredyt therle of Arren with the King, ſume that ar aboute hym hathe gyuen owte that he ys fedd frome me with angels by Armerar; wherapon the King dyd requyer Armerar, beynge but they two, as euer he wold doo anythynge for hym, that he wold tell hym one thynge, who anſerd

[1] Mr John Colvill, formerly chantor of Glasgow. He had deserted the clerical profession on account of its poverty, and became a court intriguer, and a follower of the Earl of Gowrie, and of Francis Lord Bothwell.

[2] David Rizzio.

[3] Cuthbert Armourer, who appears to have been employed by Lord Hunsdon as a secret courier to James VI.

that yf yt towcht no way hyr Maieſty, nor too preiudyſe me hys maſtyr, he wold tell hym trewly. Wherapon the King aſkt hym that queſtyan; wherapon he anſerde that, as he wolde be ſauyd at the day of Iudgment, he neuer delyuerde halpeny or penny, more or les, or any thynge els, from me but letters. So as euen they aboute the King wolde fayne putt th'Erle owt of favor yf they cowlde by any practyſe; for then had they no obſtacle too make hym follow hys Mothers deuyſys, and too worke hym for France or Spayne, as I thynke Mr Dauyſon hathe ſuffycyently aduertyſyd, for ſo he promeſte me too doo. Fentry,[1] who is aboute the King, hathe byn very erneſt with hym to ſend to hyr Maieſty abowt Cryhton,[2] who ys yn the Towar, comendynge hym aboue the ſkyſe; who anſerd hym, that yf he hymſelfe hade any credyt too doo what he thowght goode, but he woolde neuer ſende aboute ſuche a knaue, lett her Maieſty hang hym yf ſhe wyll; and ſewrly that Kryghton knowſe muche yf ytt may be gotten owt of hym. Therle of Arren ſent me, by my mane, ſerten artycles byfor the Maſter of Gray comes, of which I ſende your Lordſhyp the coppy, too be euſyd as your Lordſhyp ſhall thynk fytt. Your Lordſhyp may make hyr Maieſty acquayntyd with ſume of them that maye be wrytten owte, butt nott with the hole. The King ys very deſyrus to haue me ther, as your Lordſhyp ſhall ſee by a poſte ſkrypte, whyche he has wrytten yn the letter he ſent me: 'My Lorde, for wayghtj cawſys, as thys bearar wyll acquainte you wyth, I muſte deſier you, as ye tender my contentmente and weyle, and your honore, too ryde vpp immediatly after thys forſayd bearar too courte. I dowght nott but whane he ſhawſe you the cawſe, ye wyll kepe yt too yourſelfe only.' Thys matter I dare nott comytt too wrytynge, yett I wyll ſende hyr Maieſty my letter, and kepe the coppy, ſo as ſhe ſhall ſe the poſte ſkrypt, and ſeurly, my Lord, I thynke I ſhowlde doo hyr Maieſty better ſeruice there then here, he beynge comandyd too euſe my aduyſe yn all hys negocyacyons, and I cowlde ſune be ther yn poſte, with halfe a doſen with me. Thys bearar ſhall tell of ſume of thes matters at more lengthe, and what your Lordſhyp ſhall comande and dyrecte hym too doo, he ſhall, and ſhall deale with

[1] David Graham of Fintry.

[2] William Crichton, a trafficking Jesuit, who was imprisoned for a plot against Queen Elizabeth.

nobody elſe. Thus, hauynge byn too tedyus too your Lordſhyp, I comytt ye too th'Almyghty. At Berwyke the 19 of October, 1584.

Your Lordſhyps aſſured too comande,

H. Hunsdon.

I haue thowght goode to ſende your Lordſhyp the coppy of my letter too therle of Arren 4 dayſe byfor the Maſter of Grayſe cumynge, when I thowghte he ſhowlde nott a cume, wheryn he thowght ſume vnkyndnes yn me, that wolde myſtruſte eyther the King or hym of playne dealynge.

LORD BURGHLEY TO LORD HUNSDON. OCTOBER 1584.[1]

My very good Lord. The Maſter of Gray hath, ſince his arivall, had two awdiencies, the one on Sounday laſt, which was ſpent for the moſt parte in ceremonys; th'other yiſterday, wherein he did but in effect vrge her Maieſty to reſtore unto the King his maſters hands, the noblemen his ſubiects fled into this realme: Which motion hir Maieſtye did ſeme vtterly to have no likeinge of, beinge perſwaded, in her conſcience, that thoſe gentlemen had neuer had any evill meennings towards the perſon of the Kinge, and that ſuch attempts as haue fallen out in Scotland, haue only proceeded of the particular deviſions and parties that haue taken foote amongſt the noblemen of that realme, by reaſon of the minoritye of the Kinge, which he ſhuld rather ſeke to extinguiſh, and to vnite his whole nobilitye in a comon concurrencie to doe him ſeruice, then make himſelf a partye in any faction, which cannot breed but very dangerous effects. And for aſmuch as he made daintye to diſcouer any thinge of the ſpecial purpoſe of his comeinge, which her Maieſty concewied was for the openinge of ſome matter concerning the perill of her eſtate, ſhe did not forbeare to let him perceaue þat ſhe was offended withall.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 129, fol 157.

THE MASTER OF GRAYES NEGOCIACION. NOVEMBER 1584.[1]

THE Notes preſented by PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, Ambaſſadour for the Kings Maieſtye of Scotland in the realme of England, drawen furth of his generall inſtruccions, and geuen to Sir Francis Walſingham, principall Secretarye to her Maieſty, to be adviſed vpon by whome it ſhall pleaſe her Highnes to appoint.

FIRST. Theis frequent incurſions, depredacions, reaſinge of fire, and inaccuſtomed ridinge of the Wardens of this realme, with ſouldiers and men vnder paye, in hoſtile manner, within the bounds of Scotlande, hath cauſed the inhabitantis of boeth the realmes vpon the frontyers rather to fear further hoſtilitye and open invaſion, then maintenance of quietnes. If it ſhalbe her Maieſtys pleaſure to entertaine the happie peace, it appeares to be expidient, that this apprehencion ſhould be removed furth of her ſubiectis minds with ſpede, before it ſhould produce any further inconvenience.

SECONDLIE. The greate ſpoyles by ſea, and rapt of goodis taken from the ſtates of merchauntis, that continually cry to the King and counſell, that they may be helped to the reſtitucion of their goodis, or otherwiſe licenced to take ſo much as they haue loſt, which, if he ſhould permitt, would, within ſhort tyme, gener confuſion and farther inconvenience. It hath moved the King, my Soueraigne, earneſtly to deſire that ſome ſpedie order may be giuen for avoydeinge of all farther inconvenience in tyme to come, and the goodis taken may be reſtored. Whatſoeuer good order ſhalbe geuen within her Maieſtys dominyons, for remedienge of the premiſes, the like ſhalbe performed in Scotland.

THIRDLIE. The receauinge of certayne declared rebellis, againſt the King my maſters authoritye, fugitiues from the lawes of Scotland, within

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 130, fol. 157.

this realme, and enterteyneinge of them ſo nere vnto the frontyers, contrary to the treatye of peace, ioyned alſo to th'afforeſaid diſorders, has giuen occaſion to the Kinge my maſter and his counſell to doubt if they ſhall loke for happie quietnes, or further hoſtilitye.

Fourthlie. Since my departure from Scotland, beinge here in dealeinge for peace, ſuch attemptats hath bene comitted vpon the Borders by her Maieſtys officers, that it hath ſo confirmed all men in evill opinions, and ſo wounded the minds of the beſt ſorte, that they cannot imagine what ſhalbe th'ende.

Item. My abode here hath bene longer then I looked for, and if any further tyme ſhould be protracted for treating of euery particuler matter, it would be more then the Kinge my maſter, (who lately hath comaunded me to returne with ſpeede), would well like of. Therfore, I have taken occaſion and boldnes, for furtheringe of my returneinge, and that ſome good may be effected for interteyneinge of good intelligence and quietnes betwixt the realmes, to make overture of theis equitable remedies followinge, which I craue may preſently be performed, or otherwiſe, with reaſon and equitye, anſwered; promiſeing alſo, that what ſoeuer good order ſhalbe deviſed and performed here, for th'accompliſhment hereof, ſhall haue the like correſpondence in Scotland; moſt humbly craveing, that this my too great boldnes, proceedinge from good meaninge, may be accepted in good parte.

THE REMEDIES.

Inprimis. For removeinge of all iealouſſie or ſuſpicion of warre from the mindis of the people and inhabitants of both the realms, it appeareth to be expedient that a proclamacion ſhould be made ſoe fully certifienge the ſubiectis, of the good intelligence betwixt the Princes, and of the mutuall good meaneinge for enterteyne of peace and quietnes, betwixt them and their realmes.

Secondlie. That comaundment may be giuen in boeth the realmes,

that the Wardens of all þe Marches may meete with convenient ſpede, euery one with the oppoſſite warden, to giue and receaue iuſtice to all complayners, in any matter that wardens hath bene in vſe to procede vpon in any tyme heretofore.

THIRDLIE. That the ſubiectis may remayne in full hope to receaue an effectuall iuſtice of all and ſundry attemptis that hath bene comitted heretofore, it appeareth to be expedient, that one certaine tyme ſhuld be appointed for meteinge of Commiſſioners, hauing full power to miniſter iuſtice to all people and inhabitantis, vpon what ſoueuer iniuſtice they ſhall haue occaſion to complain.

FOURTHLIE. As the ſpecialtyes of this generall order appeareth to produce good effectis vpon the Bordours, ſo appeareth it to be convenient that ſome good order may be provided for the ſtayeinge of piracy, which appeareth may be provided by givinge of ordours, that in all the portis and havens of both the realmes, no ſhip ſhalbe ſuffered to departe, vnles they giue caution that all freindis and confederatis ſhall remaine indamnified; and this caution, ſo found, to be anſwerable to all intereſſet, in kace of contrauencion. And in like manner, who ſoeuer fauours, ſupportis, or aſſiſteth to any pirate, which are amongs all nations reputed *hostes publici*, ſhall incurre the like payne as the pirate ſhould haue done, aſwell in reſtitucion of goodis as puniſhment of bodie.

ITEM. For attemptis, raptis by ſea, and ſpoliacion comitted in tymes paſt, endureing the minoritye of my Soueraigne, and vnto this tyme, which are cumand, by continuance of evill doeinge and for long ſufferaunce, without payment or puniſhment, to large ſumes of money, and the greater hath bene the occaſion of harme, by reaſon that the partye that ſuſtayneth the loſe could not at all tymes come here for obteyneinge of iuſtice, whereby the principall committers of the delict hath eyther eſcaped long tyme without creauinge, and ſo thereby his fault put in obliuyon, or otherwiſe committed newe errours: for effectinge of the precedenis, or therefore puniſh or otherwiſe fugitiue, whereby the perſons damnified may be in danger

to loſe ther whole goodis of fortune, without ſome good equitable order may be prouided, which appereth may be performed in this manner followeinge. The ſpoliacion and wronges done by ſea beinge greater, and the ſumes obteyned by ſentences and probacion be apparent alſo to growe to greater, I haue power ſufficient to bringe the whole to a reaſonable compoſicion of ſome ſpeciall ſume, which may be paid by ſome ſpedie order to be deviſed, and thereafter recouered by th'order of fines ſet downe by her Maieſty for that effect.

Fiftlie, Seinge that by no perſuaſion I can move her Maieſty, at this tyme, to make deliuery of the fugitivis and rebellis aforeſaid, according to the treaty of peace, it appeareth at the leaſt, for ſome parte of ſatiſfaccion of the King my maſters ſuyte, to be expedient, that her Maieſtye ſhould remove them preſently from the Bordours, not onely to avoyde traffiqueinge againſt his Maieſtys eſtate and perſon, but alſo to ſeclude all apparent ſuſpicion thereof; whereby the King my maſter may remaine in hope to move her Maieſtye to conſider better hereof at ſome tyme hereafter.

Last, It appeareth that the King my maſter ſhould receaue better contentment of her Maieſtys procedings, if he ſhould be ſatiſfied by ſolide reaſons, vpon what grounds this invſitate forme of dooinge and hoſtile invacion, that hath bene comitted vpon the Borders, within Lideſdale, ſince my departure, doth procede. The reaſon thereof may be vnderſtud, by this compleynt preſented to the Counſell of Scotland by Martine Elliot,[1] whereof pleaſe receaue the copie.

Item, In like manner, I recommend to your Honours memory the notes giuen to Mr William Dauidſon, at the tyme of his beinge in Scotland, vpon the Lord Scroope, warden of the weſt Marches, for diuers offences alleged comitted by him, or at his comaund at leaſt, vpon the inhabitantis of the west Marches of Scotland.

[1] Martin Elliot, a noted Border freebooter.

THE MANNER OF PROCEEDINGES WITH THE MASTER OF GRAY, AND NAU.[1]

THE heads of the motions to be made vnto her Maieſty.

THE MASTER OF GRAY.

What anſwere to his propoſitions.
1. To ſtay attempts Bordours.
2. The removeinge of the diſtreſſed Noblemen.
3. Satiſfaccion ſpoyled by ſea.
4. The late enterpriſe againſt Martine Elwood.

To ſtay the forces demaunded by Sarle Boye.
Mr Coluill to be ſent to the Noblemen with reliefe.

MONSIEUR NAU.[2]

Some to be appointed to treate and to reſolue vpon the Articles.

The Articles being agreed on, Nau to be returned, and vpon knowledge of the Queene by takeing of them, Commiſſioners may be ſent thither with authoritye to conclude.

Nau to be ſent firſt into Scotelande to deale with the Kinge for his aſſent.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR.
1. To ioyne in triple legation.
2. To move that he might be ſent into Scotlande.

1. Proteſtacion, ſinceare dealeinge.
2. Make tryall of Naus voyage into Scotlande.
3. Keepe ſecret aſſurance giuen by them to the Queen.
4. Letters charge Maſter of Gray importunacy, Rebells before Counſell.
5. Charge Maſter of Gray before Counſell.
6. Letters Arrane.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 133, fol. 160.

[2] Mons. Nau, French Secretary to Queen Mary, by whom he had, at this time, been sent to negociate with Queen Elizabeth. See his propositions, and Elizabeth's answers, in the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland, No. 44.

THE LORDS OF THE COUNSELLS ANSWER TO CERTAINE NOTES PROPOUNDED BY THE MASTER OF GRAY, AMBASSADOUR.[1]

THE Queens Maieſtye, beinge willing to yeld contentment vnto the King her good brother, and to avoyd the inconvenience that may fall out, by the daylie ſpoyles comitted vpon the Borders of eyther realme, hath comanded that preſent order ſhalbe giuen vnto the Wardens, for the ſtay of all attemptis and incurſions to be hereafter made vpon any of the ſubiects of the ſaid Kings inhabeitants vpon the Borders, in hope that the ſaid King, as his Ambaſſadour hath promiſed, will take the like order for the oppoſite Borders of Scotland. And in caſe the Wardens of Scotland would, according to th'offers ſvndry tymes made by her Maieſtys Wardens, haue vndertaken to haue yelded ſatiſfaccion for ſuch ſpoyles, as were often tymes orderly demanded according to the treaties, thoſe late incurſions and ſpoyles, done in hoſtile ſorte, had not bene committed. For the avoydeinge whereof in tyme to come, her Maieſtye hath willed, that preſent order ſhalbe giuen that her Wardens ſhall meete more frequently with the oppoſite Wardens of that realme, then of late yeres they haue done, though indeede by the default of the Wardens of Scotland, with expreſe comaundment to yeld ſatiſfaccion for ſuch ſpoyles and attemptis as boeth haue and ſhalbe hereafter comitted, according to the treatyes. And doeth further alſo aſent, that for ſuch cauſes of difficultyes as cannot conveniently receaue ordinary redreſſe by the wardens, the ſame ſhalbe referred over to be heard and determyned by eſpeciall comiſſioners, to be choſen by boeth their Maieſties.

And for the removeinge of the ielouſie that is, by the Ambaſſadours reporte, conceaued by the ſubiectis of boeth realmes through late incurſions and ſpoyles that haue bene on boeth ſides, and no redreſſe yelded by ordinarye iuſtice, that this hard and violent courſe may in th'ende breake out into ſome publique and open hoſtilitye, her Maieſtye will cauſe it, out of hands, to be notified to her ſaid ſubiectis dwellinge vpon the Borderis

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 131, fol. 158.

by proclamacion, how deſireous ſhe is that the good amitye betwene the Kinge and her ſhall continue. And leaſt there ſhould growe any interrupcion thereof, by the particuler revenges that are daylie taken, which cannot otherwyſe be avoyded, that boeth her Maieſtys and the Kings meaneinge is, that by more frequent meteing of the Wardens, then of late yeares there hath bene, there may redreſſe be made according to ordinary courſe of iuſtice agreable with the treaties.

Touching the ſpoyles of late yeres, ſaid to be comitted by ſea, vpon the ſubiectis of the ſaid King by certaine Engliſh Pirates, her Maieſtye hath alwayes offred, as alſo performed, on her behalf, aſwell by proceedeinge, accordinge to the ordinary courſe of iuſtice, againſt ſuch as haue comitted the ſaid ſpoyles, as alſo in cauſeinge reſtitucion to be made of ſuch goodis, as haue bene duly proved to appertaine to any of the Kinges ſubiectis, whereſoeuer they haue bene found, which is as much as ane Prince is bound to performe by the lawe of nacions. And yet, to make her good will, boeth to the King and his ſubiectis more apparent, ſhe hath not onely extended an extraordinary fauour to the ſaid Kings ſubiectis, aboue all other Princes ſubiectis her neighbouris, by yeldinge vnto them towardis their ſatiffaccion the benefiet of all ſuch mulctis and fines as haue bene generally impoſed vpon ſuch as haue bene found to be eyther adyris or abettours of pirates, but hath alſo extended her liberalitye vnto divers of the ſaid realme, that haue bene recomended vnto her by the ſaid Kinge, in reſpect of ſuch loſes, as they pretended to haue ſuſtayned, without inſiſtinge vpon ſuch exact proufe of their loſes, as by ordinary courſe of iuſtice is requyred. And as to urging ſuch others, as haue made due profe thereof before the ordinarye judge of this realme, for many cauſes of ſuch loſes as they haue ſuſtayned, and haue not as yet receaued any ſatiffaction, there ſhalbe order giuen, that ſuch perſons, as by the ſame proufis ſhalbe any way found culpable, ſhall yeld ſatiffaccion, ſo farre furth as may ſtand with the lawes of this realme. And although no further matter may be craved at her Maieſtys handis, by any order of iuſtice, then is conteyned in the ſaid anſwere, yet her Maieſty, vpon the ſpeciall conſideracion and care ſhe hath to gratifie the King, is pleaſed to continewe the imployeinge of the benefiet of the ſaid mulctis and fines

impoſed vpon delinquentis, that otherwiſe ſhuld growe to her owne coffers, vpon ſuch of the ſaid ſubiects as ſhalbe recomended vnto her, from tyme to tyme, by the ſaid Ambaſſadour, in hope that he will procure the like iuſtice to be done to the ſubiectis of this realme, that haue bene lately ſpoyled by Scottiſh Pirates, as by a note thereof deliuered to him may appere. And as touchinge the requeſtis for order to be giuen in the portis for ſuch ſtay of pirates, both her Maieſty hath already had, and alſo will hereafter haue, ſuch care the order be kept, as is deſired.

As touchinge the recepcion of ſuch, as the ſaid Ambaſſadour tearmeth declared rebellis and traytours, (a matter he hath aboue all other ſo vehemently proſecuted), her Maieſty proteſteth, that if ſhe thought them guilty of any intent any wayes to attemptat any thinge againſt the Kings owne perſon, ſhe would not onely have forborne to haue ſuffred them to come within any her dominyons, but would have proceded againſt them with all ſeueritye, as againſt ſuch as ſhuld have ſought to attempt any thinge againſt her owne perſon. But beinge perſwaded, as ſhe is in her owne conſcience, vpon many circumſtances, that the matters, wherewith the King chargeth them, hath proceded onely of particuler quarrellis and foodes betwene them and other ſubiectis in that realme; a thinge that hath fallen comonly out in the minoritye of younge kingis, when, for laik of abſolute authoritye, ſubiectis doe enter into their particuler revenges, not ſubmittinge themſelues to ordinarye courſe of juſtice; and yet notwithſtanding, for the removeinge of the iealouſies that the Kinge, her good brother, hath conceaued through their aboade ſo nere his frontyers, her Maieſtye will giue preſent order for their remoue from thence to ſome ſuch place as ſhall avoyde all ſuſpicion, where they ſhalbe alſo adviſed to remaine in quiet ſorte, vntill ſuch tyme as her Maieſtye ſhall vnderſtand the Kinges further meaneinge touchinge the ſaid lordis, from the ſaid Ambaſſadour.

Laſtlie, touchinge Martin Elwoods late informacion, the act whereof he complayneth hath bene done by the two Wardens of the weſt and middle Marches, without eyther direction or privitye of her Maieſtys ſelf, or of her Privye Counſell. Yet the ſaid Wardens, vpon ſome doubt conceaued that ſome informacion would be giuen againſt them, haue offred

to iuſtifie their doeings, as conſtrayned thereto of neceſſity, through diuers and ſondry ſpoyles comitted vpon her Maieſtys ſubiectis, within her ſeuerall wardenryes, by the ſaid Martin and his aſociates, beinge a principall maintaynour of all diſordered perſons, whereof no redreſe could be obteyned, though the ſame was, by the ſaid Wardens, demaunded: notwithſtandinge, ſuch is her Maieſtys care to ſatiſfie the King, as ſhe is content that, at the next intended meteinge of the comiſſioners, the ſaid attempt nowe compleyned of ſhalbe boethe examined and ordered by them.

ANSWERS TO CERTAINE PROPOSICIONS AND REQUESTS OF THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Imprimis, as concerninge the Articles, creaveinge the reſtitucion of goodis taken by Engliſh Piratis, which are founded vpon certayne decretis obteyned, and proban deduced, before competent iudges of this realme, it is moſte certaine that amongſt all nations pyratis are accompted *hoſtes publicj*, and therefore ſhould be puniſhed accordinglie, if they can be comprehended, and the goodis ſpoyled by them, whereſoeuer it can be founde, ſhuld be reſtored; which her Maieſtye hath not onely performed to the ſubiectis of the realme of Scotland, but alſo of her owne proper goodis, hath bountifully, with out any proban deducet, or any forme of proceding by order of iuſtice vſed, cauſed ſatiſfaccioun to be made to diuers inhabitantis of that realme, which is more then of iuſtice could haue bene craued. And yet notwithſtanding, if any ſubiectis of that realme ſhall haue to complaine of any iniuſtice, vpon ſpeciall informacion giuen thereof, equitable order ſhalbe giuen for their ſatiſfaccion, accordinge to iuſtice.

As concerninge any decretis alledged obteyned and not ſatiſfied, if that any ſuch decretis ſhalbe produced againſt any ſpeciall perſons, the ſaid ſhall

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 132, fol. 159. As this and the preceding article vary in several particulars, it has been thought advisable to print both, it being doubtful which of them was the answer finally given to the Notes of the Master of Gray.

haue full execucion againſt all ſuch perſons that are conteyned therein, their whole goodis and poſeſſions made ſtringȝeable to the parties, or their lawfull factors, obteyners of the ſaid decret, and their bodies made puniſhable, yf they may be comprehended.

Albeit, no further can be craued by any order of iuſtice nor is conteyned in this aforeſaid anſwere, yet her Maieſtye, vpon ſpeciall care and conſideration moveinge her Maieſty, for the relieveinge of the ſubiectis of that countrey that hath bene troubled by Pirates, hath giuen ſpeciall order, that certaine fine or taxacion ſhould be levyed of her owne proper ſubiectis, by the order whereof diuers complayners of that realme has already bene relieved, which good ordour her Maieſtye, at the deſire of the ſaid Maſter, ſhall cauſe be continued with expedicion poſſable. And whatſoeuer ſume ſhalbe hereby recovered, ſhalbe diſpoſed to ſuch diſtreſſed perſons as ſhalbe comended by the ſaid Ambaſſadour aforeſaid, and to none others. Her Maieſty craves the like iuſtice may be done to the ſubiectis of this realme, ſpoyled by the Scottis Piratis, whereof there is great number of complayners, as more particuler wilbe vnderſtood by their ſeuerall complaintis giuen to the Ambaſſadour herevpon.

As touchinge the recepcion of ſuch as the ſaid Ambaſſadour termes declared rebells and traytours, which matters aboue all others is ſo vehemently proſecuted, her Maieſty proteſted, &c.

And yet notwithſtanding, for removeinge of all iealouſie from her brother the Kinge of Scotlande his minde, of any their ill behauiour, through remayneinge on the frontyer, ſuch order ſhalbe giuen, that with ſpeed they ſhalbe retyred ſo farre within this realme, that all ſuſpicion therof ſhalbe avoyded, there to remaine vnto ſuch tyme that further order may be taken thereanent, according to the ſinceritye of the ſaid Kinge her brother his meaneinge towardis her Maieſtye, and the certifficacion thereof to be made to her Maieſtye by the ſaid Ambaſſadour.

As touchinge Martine Alletts late complaint. The Wardens of the Marches, without knowledge of her Maieſtye, or adviſe of her counſell, conſtrayned through neceſſitye, as appeares to haue remedied diuers inſolencyes comitted vpon the ſubiectis of Englande by the ſaid Martine, who is a greate author and mayntayner of diſordered perſons, aſſembled them-

ſelues together, in no ſuch great power as is alledged, and fought the ſaid Martine to his owne howſe, where, we are informed, no great harme is done, and if any extraordinary hurte or ſkaythe be comitted, the Comiſſioners, which ſhalbe ordeyned to mete, may haue power to take order thereanent, according to the lawes of the Borders.

NOTES REGARDING THE MASTER OF GRAY'S PRACTICES AGAINST QUEEN ELIZABETH.[1]

That the Maſter of Gray hath bene priuie to ſome of the late practiſes, forreine and domeſticall, againſt her Maieſtie, in fauor of the Scottiſh Quene, as may be probably coniectured by,

1. His inward familiaritye and continuall traffique in France with thoſe of the houſe of Gwiſe, of whome he hath receaued extraordinary favour;—the Biſhops of Glaſco[2] and Roſſe,[3] by whoſe means, it is reported, he taſted of the Popes bounty;—the Spaniſh Ambaſſador reſident in France, of whome, as himſelf is ſaid to haue confeſſed, he was at his comeinge out of France preſented with a cupboard of plate valued to 5 or 6000 crownes.

2. His like continewall intelligence with other her Maieſties coniured enemyes and rebellious ſubiectis, as Morgan,[4] and others, and fugitives there.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 137, fol. 163.

[2] James Bethune was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow in 1552, and held the See till the Reformation, when he retired to France, and was afterwards appointed Queen Mary's ambassador at the French Court.

[3] John Lesley was inducted to the See of Ross in 1566.

[4] Thomas Morgan, one of Queen Mary's secretaries, whom she sent into France as the receiver of the rents of her dowry there. Morgan, in a letter to Queen Mary, 9th April 1585, thus writes regarding his correspondence with the Master of Gray.—"Now that Gray hath, I heare, dishonorablye acquitted himselfe of your Majesty's service, there be some instrumentes that lay to me, that I procured his credit here, and with your Majesty he was commended out of Scotland by Father Holt, to some others of that Societye here, who gave him all the credit they cold to the Duke of Guise; and my Lord of Glasgo entertayned Gray with great respect of him, and all matters were to him imparted, God is my witnesse, never by me, but he colde tell me many particulars, which when I hearde, I was sorry

3. The ſpeciall recomendacions giuen of him by the Scottis Quene to the King her ſonne, and his favour and credite with him in the preſent revolucion and change of thingis there.

4. The ſpeciall truſt repoſed in him before ſome others her approved ſervantis, in the kepeinge and diſpenſing of the money brought home by Ballandine, a little before the late Road of Sterlinge, to ſuch vſes as were deſſigned by her and her inſtruments in France.

5. The good offices he hath done ſince his returne into Scotland in her favour, and furtherance of hir purpoſes.

6. His reception and enterteynement of Nugent the Iriſh fugitive with his companyon, retyred of late into Scotland, ſpecially recomended and addreſſed to him, and harboured in his fathers houſe; with the like reception giuen to Fulgiambe his companion, now fugitives.

7. His confeſſed relieveinge of Fulgiambe with 300 crownes out of his ſtore, by the Scottiſh Quenes direction. With other like particularityes, which may ſuffice to prove boeth the mans former affections towardis her Maieſtie and her ſtate, howſoeuer he be now enclyned, and his ablenes, in ſome degrees, to diſcover *le pot aux roses*, if he liſt to ſpeake plaine language.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.[1]

MADAME, to fullfill the promiſe I made in my laſt lettre unto your Maieſty, I have written the preſent at length, although with regrett, for the great

to heare that the same were so dispersed; and thereof I advertised your Majesty, testifying the devotion he shewed to have to your Majesty's service. And indeede I thought that a gentleman of his qualitye and relligion cold never so ingratefullye and undutifully forget himselfe towardes his Soverayne Ladye and Mistresse; and so I hope your Majesty will not impute to me anye blame for his lewde parts, whereof he shall heare at my handes if I live to speake with him."—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 442.

[1] Harl. MSS. No. 290, fol. 146. This letter is subscribed in cypher, and indorsed 'A coppye of A.B. letter unto M.S.' But it bears internal evidence of being from the Master of Gray.

good will which I have borne ever to your ſervice, ſince I was of age to know my duty, maketh me greatly to lament that all my meaning ſhould be conſtrued wrong. This I ſpeak not without a great ground: For that ſame man Fontinie,[1] whom it pleaſed your Maieſty to recomend unto me in your laſt letter, hath uſed himſelfe ſo undutifully to me, that I cannot imagine he durſt haue enterpriſed the ſame, without ſpeciall commandement from youe, as þe effect hath declared. For he did ſhew unto þe Kings Maieſty a letter which he ſaid was written by youe, wherein was contayned a counſell and adviſe þat his Maieſty ſhould not truſt or confide any wayes in me, by reaſon that youe were aſſuredly perſuaded, and had truly learned, that I had turned my cloke, and had taken another courſe, þe which, if his Maieſty ſhould follow, it ſhould be bothe his ruyne and your owne. This letter it pleaſeth his Maieſty to ſhew unto me, becauſe he had no ſuſpicion in any ſort of me, ſeing he knew beſt what I ever ſaid unto him, or what courſe I had counſelled him to follow. Madame, if this letter were written by your Maieſty, I eſteeme my good will very evile requited, and the recompence of my more earneſt meaning unto your ſeruice very badd; for although it had ben ſo, yet your Maieſty ſhould firſt have written the truth, and advertiſed myſelf, and if youe had found it, then to have uſed þe next meane, and not, without all evident apparance, to have preſſed ſo to diſgrace me to my Maſter: Yet, Madame, I have ſuch confidence in your wiſdome, þat I perſuade myſelfe þe letter was the knaves owne invencion. If ſo it was that your Maieſty knew not of it, I beſeech your Maieſty that I may have reaſon of him, and that your Maieſty write unto all your frends in France, and to your Ambaſſadour, the very truth of thinges; for I know there are advertiſements very falſely ſpread of me, both forth of this country and Scotlande. I think your Maieſty will the rather do this, þat ſome injury he hath donne unto your Maieſtys owne ſervice. For indeed I thought my ſervice worth litle, if it deſerved not thanckes; and I aſſure your Maieſty, unto the tyme I receave your promiſe, that this youe ſhall performe in effect, I will, in no ſorte, medle with any thing that appertayneth to

[1] Fontenay was one of Queen Mary's French secretaries. He was banished Scotland for calumniating the Master of Gray.—See letter in this collection, p. 41.

your ſervice; beſides, that ever I ſhall accompt myſelf an example to all men, to be over frank in dealing in it. If it be indeede, þat the letter was written by yourſelf, I accompt myſelf very ungratfully uſed, (if ſo be a poore ſubject may capitulate with his prince,) and in that the yong man not in any ſort to have fayled, ſeing what he did was donne by your commandement. Of force I muſt needs comport; yet ſhall not leave to do þe generall, which duty commanded me to do; but one thing I ſweare, that if it might advantage me ten millions of gold, and diſadvantage me my head, þat never, while I live, ſhall I medle with any your ſervice in perticuler; and comit to this paper to diſchardg me wholly of it in tyme to come. As I have already ſaid, [if the letter] were not written at your Maieſtys commandement, I crave only at this tyme your Maieſtys promiſe þat for the weale of your owne affaires, I may have reaſon of the knave who did þe wrong. How ever it was, I eſteeme myſelfe very evill handeled, that your Maieſty ſhould preferre þe advertiſement of a pratling knave, to the experience youe have already had of my good will to þe avancement and well doing of your affaires. I marvaile greatly, (with many others), that your Maieſty ever employed ſuch a fantaſtique creature, who is neyther wiſe, ſecreat, nor experienced, ſeing youe had a ſufficient prouf how he was accompted of in Spaine, and what fruict he reported of his negociacion. For my owne part, at this tyme, I ſhew him freely I would in no wyſe deale with him, and aſſured him his owne inſufficience would be the cauſe his negociacion would take litle or no effect; for there was no man whoſoever about þe King, whome he touched not with his miſreports, and honor and reputacion, and myſelf in diverſe wayes, as in alleaging that I had receaved a thouſand roſe nobles from the Queene of England. This his Maieſty did ſhow me, in his owne face, who, knowing his owne unhoneſt dealing, aſked me pardon for it, ſimply without any excuſe; þe which he dare not deny, if ſo it ſhall pleaſe your Maieſty to aſk of him. This, Madame, is the very truth of his deportemente in Scotland, and the only occaſion why he proffited nothing there; and if it had not ben for that reſpect which I did beare unto your Maieſty, and that he was a ſtraunger, in recompence of that he miſuſed me, I ſhould have cutt both his eares. There is another gentleman in Scotland equall with

this in wyſedome, and nothing inferior in pratling, who hath, in lyke manner, written ſiniſtrouſly of me to the Biſhopp of Glaſquo, and þe Jeſuiſts. The man is yong Fintry. But your Maieſty knoweth that he came into Scotland only to be at theire devocion, without any perticuler reſpect eyther to your Maieſtys affaires, or the King my maſter. But I hope at my returne, I ſhall do good will to pay him home againe, and ſend him the way he came. I care no thing his miſreporting to thoſe people, for it is long ſince I did write unto your Maieſty that I would in no ſort follow theire adviſe in thinges, for I knew them to be very perticuler to them ſelves, reſpecting no thing els but theire owne advancement in greatnes and creadit without þe world. Therefore, Madame, although I love my relligion as well as any Jeſuiſt, or other Prieſt in Europe, I ſhall beſeech your Maieſty not to follow any more theire violent counſell. Albeit your Maieſty writs that nothing ſhall cauſe the Queen of England do more willingly then feare, yet this feare would be joyned with lenity and friendſhip, for this Counſell here is not ſo bairnely, but they can very well diſtinguiſh feare in mouthes, from that which hath great appearance, and are not to be afrayde of wordes. And for my owne part I ſee not þe appearance þat ſhall affray them, nor yet the effect, and to ſpeak truly I have given the Kings Maieſty this counſell, that he leane not any way to forrayne ayde, ſeing the furtheſt ever I did yet ſee exceeded not faire promiſes. And this, Madame, if eyther youe or he leane to, it may deceave youe. Therefore, Madame, þe ſame counſell I give unto your Maieſty, and beſeeche youe remark it well, ſeeinge þe end of your deſeigne is to be ſucceſſor to þe Crowne of Englande, my opinion is, that all violent courſes are injurie unto it, in two reſpects. The firſt, if youe ſhould pretend any violence againſt þe prince þat now reigneth, it were enough to animate ſo þe ſubiects hearts againſt youe, that with great paine ſhould they ever acknowledge any of youe for theire prince, expecting the lyke violence to be uſed againſt þemſelves, having ben faithfull ſubjects in her tyme; and it is not unknowen unto your Maieſty what feare they have of this kind of violence in this contry, for the which cauſe they have inſtituted theire new aſſociacion, and ſo farre as I can learn, the people is very willing to imbrace it. I will not inſiſt

any more to diſcourſe of it, ſeing youe have already ſeene it. The ſecond reſpect, I take it from the people, who being the only louers of peace, ſhall ever be enemy to all, who, in any ſort, by any kind of meanes, or violent courſe, ſhall alter or diſturbe theire common tranquillity, ſeing þat ſpoyles them of theire geire. Therefore, Madame, as I ſhall anſwere, firſt to God, and next unto þe King my maſter, and your Maieſty, my opinion is, that youe follow ſome ſolide, calme and quiet courſe, as moſt advantageous for the accomplyſhment of your deſſeigne, and that in effect your Maieſty take with the Queen of England ſome honeſt, frendly, and quiet dres, to þe end þat during her lyfe, without all jalouſie, ſhe poſſeſſe that which hath ben provided to her by God, and if ſo it pleaſe him, after her, your Maieſty and the King your ſonne may enter with contentment, both to yourſelves and your ſubjects, into a peacable kingdome. Your Maieſty may object, that in all overtures friends are to be retayned. I aſſent very well to that, but theiſe frends muſt be others then forrayners, although I will grant that forraine frends are not to be trayned, but entertayned in very honorable termes. But the frends that ſhalbe moſt ſure, are the ſubjects of Scotlande. And for this cauſe, Madame, I ſhall ever give the Kings Maieſty counſell to entertaine a firm and ſetled quietnes in his owne country, with his owne and emong his owne ſubjects, and to quenche all trifle particulers, ſeing they may be impeachment of his further weale and greater comodity. This farre, Madame, I have written, to þe end your Maieſty may know þe King your ſonnes will and intencion, and the occaſion of my voyage, not to have proceeded uppon ſuch grounds as are contayned in this your laſt letter, for, I aſſure youe I ſhall never be the inſtrument of any ſeperacion or diviſion betwene youe and the Kings Maieſty your ſonne, and this I will profeſſe in preſence of all Scotlande and England. As for the Earle of Arran, or any his accions, I will not anſwere. And thinck not, Madame, that I eyther follow or haud on him, or any other ſubject in Scotlande or England, but that I accompt myſelf in fellowſhip with þe beſt. And yet, Madame, as I write unto youe oft before, I cannot perceave the Earle of Arran to be enemy in your Maieſtys affaires. To be plaine with your Maieſty, the King my maſter hath not

given unto me commandmant to deale in all things conjointly, as if the aſſociacion were perfected in effect, but yet his will is, that I do for your Maieſty in all things that may tend to your weale and contentment; but of truth, (ſaving better adviſe), it is more fitt for your Maieſty that the King enter into ſolide frendſhip with þe Queen of England perticularly, and then to dreſſe for youe, as his Mother, with her who then ſhalbe his frende. And thincke not, Madame, þe Kingis Maieſty to be ſo barnelike, that faire offers, without the apparant effect to follow, ſhall content him, as that I, his meſſager, am ſo deſtitute of good reaſon, that I cannot very well decerne the ſhadow from the verity. Uppon this, Madame, with all diligence I crave your anſwere.

Nowe reſts to ſhow your Maieſty, that I have had conference with Monſieur de Maluiſer,[1] whome I finde to be the ſame man your Maieſty declareth him to be. Emong other conference he aſked me, whether it were true that Fontaine had ſaid to the King my maſter, that he was altogether affected to the Queen of England, and that his Maieſty ſhould not truſt in him. In this I ſhewed him the very truth, and it was, that Fontaine did ſpeake it to þe King. In this, Madame, I eſteeme him as evill handeled as my ſelf, for I have ever perceaved hitherto by his letteris, and now by him ſelf, that he is no leſſe willing to ſee as good ſucceſſe of your Maieſtys affaires, and the King your ſonnes, then if he were your owne naturall ſubject. Therefore, as I deſire for myſelf, ſo deſire I that he may be ſatiffied, and prayeth, that hereupon I may have your Maieſtys anſwere, for I beleeve it ſhall not be permitted that at this tyme I ſhall ſee your Maieſty, but I ſhall aſſay to have lycence to one of the gentlemen who are here with me, to viſite your Maieſty on the Kings Maieſtys part and my owne. I thank your Maieſty moſt humbly, that youe have written to þe King my maſter, in favour of ſuche as I

[1] Michael de Castelneau, or Chateauneuff, Seigneur de Malvissier, the French ambassador at the English court. Through him the partizans of Queen Mary appear to have corresponded with her Majesty. "The Bishop of Glasco receaved not three dayes agoe a pacquett from Mauvessier; though theie have no good opinion of Mauvessier's sufficiency, yet theie keepe in with him, and serve theire turns of him, and, in my opinion, theie have their intelligence to and from the Queen of Scotts by his meanes. Howe he getteth ytt to and from her I knowe not."—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 410.

did recomend unto youe. But as for Caualyon, I never intended to place him in any farther eſtate with the Kings Maieſty, then to ſerve him as a generall Secretary, for there is no man more ſcrupulous to committ great affaires to petty companions then I am. Uppon the report that the laſt yere Mr Archibald Dowglas[1] was impriſoned, for having negotiated in your Maieſtys affaires, and for that I underſtand he followeth no courſe offenſive to the King my maſter, I have privily ſpoken with him, and finde him a very honeſt, wyſe man. As for the changing of your Ambaſſadour in France, it ſhalbe beſt the Kings Maieſty be firſt acquainted with it, to the end the next man be choſen to his contentment. And I eſteeme it ſhalbe very hard to find any worthy for it, yet the beſt is to be choſen.

Claude Hamilton[2] is already gone into Scotland, to the great miſcontentment of all the Kings rebelles and enemies, where he keepeth himſelfe quiet. Your Maieſtys man, litle William Dowglas, is lately departed into France, and hath left aſſygnation to the two thouſand franks he hath lying on bank in Paris. The Laird of Eiſter Weymes, who hath come hither out of France, hoping to have obteyned lycence to have ſpoken with your Maieſty, but that was refuſed him. So I will requeſt your Maieſty in his favour, that the will of the dead be kept unto him, and that no other prevent him at your Maieſtys hands; and in recompence I hope he ſhall do youe good ſervice. Your Maieſty ſhall excuſe me that I requeſt for my frends, for I ſhall never requeſt for my ſelf, untill it ſhall pleaſe God to putt youe in better eſtate. As for other thingis contayned in your Maieſtys letter, which preſently I will not ſpecifie, I ſhall not faile, God willing, to accompliſh them to your Maieſtys contentment. For, as I have already donne, (if I ſhalbe well uſed), I ſhall never ſpare lyfe nor geere in all your Maieſtys honeſt accions, and this your Maieſty ſhall truſt and perſwade your ſelfe, ever till þe effect declare þe contrary. I have written the preſent in Scottiſh, and in open

[1] Mr Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow. Many of his letters to the Master and others will be found in this collection.

[2] Lord Claude Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, fourth son of James second Earl of Arran.

letter, becauſe of þe ſure conveyance, but the next ſhalbe more ſhort and ſecreat, becauſe that my hand writing is knowen in this Court. I beleive your Maieſty ſhall with difficulty read this counterfait ſcribbling. So, ceaſing to importune your Maieſty with tedious diſcourſe, after having moſt humbly kiſſed your Maieſtys hands, I pray God, Madame, to ſend youe a long and happy lyfe, with better health and greater contentment then hitherto. At London, 22 of November, 1584.

De vre Δ

♂ . ‡ . ♀ : ♃ : *n* . *æ* : $\frac{x}{\varphi}$:

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Gray, ſi ces ſeruices et bons offices, leſquels vous m'auez touſiours offertz, meuz (Je croye) par vray conſcience et cognoiſſance de deuoir vers voſtre Royne et mère de voſtre Maiſtre, par elle receu en pareille dignité comme ſon vnique enfant et cher heritier, ne m'euſſent pouſſée à vous recommander comme jeune homme de bonne race et de recommandables vertus, Je penſe que vous pourriez plus aiſément vous laiſſer aller, comme jeune, aux perſuaſions de ceux qui ne déſirent que leur particulièr commodité, négligent ne bien publique et ſeruices de leurs Maiſtres. Mais comme en cela vous prétendez que tort vous vous eſt faict, faictes premier paroiſtre vos effectz ſincères, et ſans particularité, conſidérant que c'eſt qu'importe le denier de ce, que mon fils a accepté de moy, vous le ſçauez Je croy, ſinon J'ay de quoy le monſtrer et aſſez des téſmoins au beſoing. Mais ja à Dieu ne plaiſe, que mon fils fuſt ſi mal conſeillê de me contraindre à cela, vous deuiez parlant à moy de la part de mon fils, prendre mes aduis vous le ſçauez. Or, Je vous dis comme J'ay touſiours

[1] From a copy in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. fol. 162.

faict, ſoit ou d'vne façon ou d'vne aultre, Je ne veulx point de diuiſion, d'entre moy et mon enfant. Et que Je veux, luy laiſſant tout le gouuernement et biens de ma propre volonté, l'aſſeurer de la juſte poſſeſſion, et ne demander que l'auctorité deue à mère, telle que Je ſuis, luy ne déſaduoue plus donques l'aſſociation entre nous, ſi vous ne voulez mettre ſon tiltre en doubte, et m'effortre d'y proceder par vn aultre voye. Car pour vous dire en vng mot, Je penſe faire honneur et deuoir de bonne mère à mon fils de le faire mon compaignon à traictre. Et qu'il traicte pour moy quiconque luy a mis cela en auant, n'eſt qu'vn ſot et vng traiſtre. Mon fils a l'honneur de mon coſté et moy rien du ſien: quell contentement de le voir vertueux, et en chemin de proſpérer! Je prétends de deſpendre entièrement de la Royne d'Engleterre, Madame ma bonne ſoeur, comme ſa plus proche parente, de faire vne perpetuelle ligue auecques elle et entre nos pays, qu'a touſiours éſté la promeſſe de mon fils, de me ſuiure en ſes plus importantes affaires. Ceſte cy c'eſt la plus Je m'aſſeure qu'il ne gouſtera pas me déſobeyr voir me griefuement offendre faiſant le contraire, veu que tout ce que Je ſuis, c'eſt plus pour ſon bien que le mien, duquel mes maulx ennuieux m'ont faict perdre tout gouſt ſinon pour luy: ſ'il recule, J'appelle Dieu et touts les Princes Chreſtiens à téſmoin, que J'ay faict deuoir de bonne mère, et que quoy luy en aduiendra après, il en ſaura gré à ceulx qui ſont de ce conſeil pris contre ſa promeſſe, et celle de—Je n'en dirai pas d'auantage, vous m'entendrez, et vous ſouuienne que ce n'eſt vers moy qu'il fault diſſimuler ou vſer de commandement. Et Je ne croyra jamais que mon fils ſoit changé vers moy, ne luy en ayant donné auculne occaſion; mais Je me fais forte que tiendra la parolle et ce ſans diſſimuler ſe monſtrera naturel et obéiſſant fils. Et quant à voſtre particulier, Je m'aſſeure que ſi oyez l'importance de ceſte variation entre mon fils et moy, vous amyeriez mieux mourir que de mettre la main entre le bois et le corps, comme voſtre commiſſion l'importe. Et ſemble quant à voſtre particulier vous eſtes mal informé, comme par après Je vous fairay entendre, et que le vent vient d'ailleurs que ne penſez; auec le temps vous l'entendrez auec ſatiſfaction, comme Nau vous pourra teſmoigner, le quel, tant pour le crédit qu'il a de moy que les bons offices qu'il vous a touſiours faictz en mon endroict,

vous pouuez bien croire: pour le moins, il eſt ſi entier et affectionné au ſeruice et de moy et de mon fils, qu'il n'a guarde de préférer ſon particulier, ny par la langue faire tort à quelque ce ſoit. Et pour ce Je vous prie croyez le et faictes de bons offices, aduertiſſant mon fils en combien mauvaiſe part Je prendray ceſte nouuelle inventée courſe, en ce faiſant vous pourrez aſſeurer de ma bonne volonté vers vous et les voſtres. A Dieu—qu'il vous ayt en ſa guarde. Wingfield, ce xiiij de Décembre, 1584.

Voſtre bonne amie,

Marie R.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF ARRAN.[1]

Trustie, &c.—Your letteris, conteyneinge an offer, grounded vpon the King your Soueraignes comaundment of your ſervice vnto vs, one whome, next vnto him, you proteſt to reuerence abou all other princes, giueth vs iuſte cauſe to teſtifie by theis our letteris our thankfull acceptacion of the ſame. And for that it ſemeth that the continuance thereof, on your behalf towardis vs, dependeth altogether of our conſtant and freindly dealing towardis your ſaid Soueraigne, in reſpect of his vowed good will towardis vs, before all other princes, wherin you wiſh ſolide correſpondencye, we hope that we haue euer, ſince his firſt beinge, geven ſo good teſtimonye of our love and affection towardis him, and of a ſinguler care we haue alwayes had of his well doeinge, as there is no cauſe that may iuſtlye be taken by anye, that are not parcially affected, to doubt of our perſeuerance therein, if we ſhall finde in him a thankfull acknowledgment and requytall towardis vs in that behalf, as we doe nowe aſſure our ſelues we ſhall: For we are not eaſilye carryed, eſpecially by ſuch as you note to haue made ſhipwrack of honeſtye, to varie or altour our courſe to-

[1] From the original Minute in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 134, fol. 161, dated 21st Dec. 1584.

wardis ſuch as ſhall continue conſtant in well meaneing towardis vs. And, therefore, for your ſelf, as the groundis of your affection towardis vs ſemeth to be chiefely buylt vpon our good vſage of your Soueraigne, ſo accordingly as you ſhall carrye yourſelf towardis him, with that duetye that appertayneth to a ſeruant that poſſeſſeth that portion of credit that you doe, with a maſter of qualitye as he is, you may aſſure yourſelf we ſhall, from tyme to tyme, eſteme of you as by effectis you ſhall finde in ſo honorable ſorte, when opportunitye ſhalbe offred, as you ſhall haue no cauſe to fore think the great devocion and good will you profeſſe, or rather to vowe, towardis vs. And as touching this gentleman your freind, we doe not finde in him that francknes in revealeinge vnto vs ſuch practiſes as were intended againſt vs, wherewith we knowe he was made acquainted, as we loked for, conſideringe the aſurance giuen, boeth by the Kings letteris, and your owne, vnto our couzen of Hunſdon, in that behalf. Some thingis in generality he hath deliuered vnto vs, whereof the greateſt parte were before well knowen vnto vs. But if he would haue dealt as confidently therein, as he hath dealt paſſionately in the purſuyte of the diſtreſſed noblemen retyred into this our realme, we ſhuld then haue had better cauſe to like of his procedeing, though we muſte nedes confeſſe, that otherwiſe he hath carryed himſelf in that good ſorte, as we are glad the King, our good brother, hath ſo rare and faithfull a ſervant.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO KING JAMES VI.[1]

N'AYANT iamais de voſtre part ouy que vous feiſſiez difficulté aulcune iuſques à preſent, de ſorte que le langage que Gray en a tenu. Si au contraire m'a ſemble merveilleuſement eſtrange, ne me doubtant iamais ny que vous que J'aime ſi chèrement, ny luy qui m'avoit donné tant d'aſſeurences de ſon ſervice, euſſiez voulu me deuancer en aulcun traicté

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 94, fol. 108, where this article is dated 5 Jan. 1584. See foot note, p. 8.

par deça à mon déſavantage, et luy donner pluſtoſt le tort, ou à quelque particulier qui l'a dirigé, qu'à vous. Si c'eſt le Compte d'Arran, rementenez luy que J'ay encores ſes lettres, auec celles de divers aultres Seigneurs pour l'approbation et confirmation de noſtre aſſociation, &c.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

Sir, it vil pleaſe you, I vret of befor a priuie pacquet to Baruik directit to Capitaine Caruel,[2] bot þe lacky, not finding him thair, retournit me my letteris, ſo þat I knew not by quhat moyen to ſend my letteris, til yiſterday I reſeiuit aduertiſment frome Capitane Caruel þat he lay at Beaucaſtell, on þe Veſt Mairtches; yit þe vay is ſo vncertaine þat it vil be hard to mak a dayly vſe of conuoy by it, vitche makis me be þe more earneſt to deſyr you prouyd ſume ſure moyen þe vitche I ſhall vſe. And alſo, I vil ſkairſe be ſo plaine preſently, as otheruays I vold be if I kneu of a ſure moyen, bot you ſhall knaw forder by ſume vther meine. I haue directit a pacquet to my Lord Hunſdoun, conteining one vnto hir Maieſty, as you vil ſee. As it pleaſit hir Maieſty to account better of þe diſchairge of my comiſſion, þan any merit of myn deſeruit, ſa it haithe pleaſit the King my maiſter to allou verie veil of my anſueris, as you vil ſee his auin letteris giue ſuffiſient teſtimonie, as lykuayis of þat gryt good vil he doethe beare to þe Queene your ſouueraigne, and I ſpeik it in conſcience it is meint in effect; þairfor I pray you to be a good inſtrument for þe continuance of it, for althocht þe King vas verie evil informit of your good vil touardis him, yit I hoyp ſchortly it ſhalbe manifeſtit þat he nou accountis them leiers, for in deid I declarit vnto his Maieſtie treuly ſutche diſpoſition as I fand in you. I muſt neidis pray you of one thing, þat you be no henderer to lat þe bainiſt gentlemen pas furthe of Ingland for

[1] From the original Cott. MSS. C. IX. art. 43, fol. 95. This letter is indorsed in a contemporaneous hand, 'From the Master of Gray—Kings association with his mother.'

[2] Robert Carvyle, one of the Captains of Berwick. He was frequently employed in conveying correspondence between the English and Scottish courts.

a ſeaſon, and in þat doing it ſhall be found you ar their verie gryt freind, for þair name is nou ſo odiouſe to þe King þat the more any man mak for them, the vors is thair eſtet; ſo þat the grytyſt veil preſently thay can haue, is to avoid all occaſion of jalouſie, and abyd tym, and I aſſur you tym vil be þair gryteſt freind þan any thing ellis. I haue vrittin my opinion frely in þis maiter vnto hir Maieſtie, þe vitche, I beleue, ſhalbe participat vnto you. Thair ennemis be in very gryt crediet, yit vithe ſutche a continuall feare, as I rather be dead than continually deing, if I ver in þe lyk caes. I prayſe God my crediet augmentis dayly vithe my Maiſter, ſo þat I haue þe better moyen to interferm the freindſchip begune betuene thair Maieſties; feu vthers preſently haithe any gryt crediet, bot þe Earle of Arrane. The Secretaire, Mr Maitlaine, is in good favouris, yit not in ſpeciall crediet. Ther be many gryt jalouſeis preſently amongis our ſelfis, yit ve comport þe beſt ve may. The tym is verie feit preſently, þat ſume gentleman be ſend heir vithe horſis to his Maieſtie, for he ves verie glaid quhan I ſhoued him, þat hir Maieſtie vould ſend him ſume opine tokin of opinly profeſſit freindſchipe. The ſouner þe gentleman come it ſhalbe þe better, for þan you ſhall be more plainly, and at gryter lenthe, aduertiſit of all thingis in theis pairtes. The King is marvelouſly comoueit preſently, at þe euil handeling of me by his mother, and that day I diſchargit myſelf of my embaſſad, it ves votit in one voice by all his Counſell, þat the Aſſociation ves a thing verie dyſauantagieuſe bothe for þe King his Maieſtie and countré, and conſequently vorthy to be anulit for euer. So as he haithe auouit me by his auin letteris to hir Maieſtie, þat it ves neuer concludit ſo, nor heirefter it ſhall neuer fall in queſtion. And becaus it ves ſumquhat ſlandrous þat Nau haid ſaid, þe Quene, his Maieſtie his mother, haid þe moyen to caus him put vater in his vyn, þe Counſell thocht it meit þat Fontainie, hir man, ſould mak furthe of the countré; ſo he is to obey vithe the firſt comoditie. Befor my homecoming he has maid a thouſand leiſings, and amongeſt diuers vþers, he ſaid þat his brother Nau haid maid him aduertiſment, þat I had promiſit in England to kil þe Earle of Arrane; ſo it being reueilit, I ves ſumquhat vrothe vithe him, and intendit to haue reuengit one him þe querel I bare, bothe agenſt his brother and him ſelf, bot his Maieſtie commandit me þe contraire. I vil vryt no more þis

vay til I heir frome you. It vil pleaſe you participat þis letter to my Lord Leiceſter, and your ſone Sir Philip Sidnie. I have vrittin to bothe; bot quhan I find a more ſure commoditie I ſall more plainly vryt. I intendit to haue vritten to hir Maieſtie by þis vay, a reſolution of ſume things I promiſit by my laſt letter, bot, as yit, I can not, becaus I haue not, as yit, ful reſolution my ſelf; bot it vil pleaſe you, Sir, excuſe me, and pray hir Maieſtie to keip it ſecret þat I vryt to you, for auoyding of jalouſie. Remember þat my Lord Hunſdoun vrytt, the quhair you knaw. I tak leue, efter haueing kiſſit your handis, and committis you, Sir, to God his holy protection. Att Hollyrud hous þis 24 of January, 1584.

Your verie affectionat freind
to do you ſeruice,

Maiſter of Gray

To the Ryght Honorable his ſpeciall good freind, Sir Francis Valſinghame, Cheiffe Secretarie to hir Maieſtie, and one of hir honorable Privie Counſell.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.[1]

PLEASE YOUR MAIESTIE, of leat thair haithe bein a copie of a letter divulgat in this country, and at lenthe fallin in his Maieſtie his handis, vitche is ſpokin to haue beine vrittin by your Maieſtie vnto the Lord Maxuell, promiſing him aſſiſtance in this his fooliſh attempt.[2] In caice you do

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 67, fol. 140. The second page has originally been written with invisible ink, and brought out by some chemical agent, but it is now unfortunately illegible, with the exception of a word here and there.

[2] The 'foolish attempt' evidently alludes to the insurrection of Lord Maxwell, lately created Earl of Mortoun, in favour of the banished Lords, which commenced by his attack

not find all thingis performit, according as ves promifit by þe King his Maieſtie his Ambaſſador, yit his Maieſtie vould in no vayis beleue, til ſutche tym as he micht know of your ſelf, quhou far in this propoſe haid bein knowin vnto your Maieſtie, vitche is the occaſion of my preſente importunitie and bouldnes: For althocht, if the letter be frome your Maieſtie, the King, my maiſter, is a litle intereſtit, yit I, as a poor miniſter of his, eſtime my ſelf more, ſeing it is eneuche to loſe all credit I haue vithe his Maieſtie, haveing promifit more of your Maieſtie hir pairt than he ſhall ſee effectual, and yit no more than that your vryt ſhall ſufficiently teſtifie. Quhairfor I pray moſt humbly your Maieſtie, ether to aduertis, or cauſe me be aduertifit, if the letter proceidit frome you, or if it be donne of propoſe be þe ſaid Lord Maxuell, as in deid I tak it to be. Quhoeuer it be, vell I am aſſurit to heir þe treuthe from your Maieſtie, ſeing vtheruayis it ſhalbe verie preiudicyable to my crediet, the vitche, if I loſe, your Maieſtie vil find þe loſe gryter than þe neu conqueiſt freindſchipe. So taking leue, I kis moſt humbly your Maieſtie hir handis. At the Scottiſe Court þis 29 of April, 1585.

Your Maiſtie hir moſt humble ſeruiter,

J. Maiſter of Gray

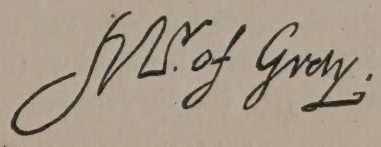
A la Ma^te^.
De la Royne d'Angleterre

on the Johnstons, and ultimately succeeded by the surprise of the King at Stirling in November following. 'Vpone the vj of Apryle 1585, Robert Maxvell, brother to the Erle of Mortoun, brunt the Laird of Johnstounis house of Lochivood, and being accumpanied with sundrie freindis, tuik a great number of his men.'—*Moysie's Memoirs*, p. 52.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.[1]

Sir, my leaſur permittis me not þat I can vryt to you particularlie, bot vithein thre dayis you ſhalbe aduertiſit of all þing heir at lenthe, for to impert to my freindis in theis pairtis. In þe mid tym, I haue vretin to my Lord Leiceſter and to Mr Secretarie, who vil impert thair letteris to you. I pray you interteine me in þair good grace. I feir I be conſtrainit to imploy them, for I am hardly preſſit by my vnfreind. So I deſyr you to ſpeik to the Quene þat I ſhall do no thing, except my lyf be in dainger, bot if I find it ſo, you ſhall perſuad hir þat it is meiter I be to þe fore than hir ennemie, and ſend me hir opinion of þis point. Mr Votton is verie honourably reſaueit of his Maieſtie, and for my awin pairt, I ſhall do good vil þat he ſhall haue cauſe to lyk of my ſelf. I remit all vther thingis to þe uther tuo letteris, and committ you to Goddis holy protection. Frome our Court at Holyrud þis laſt of May, 1585.

Your affectionate freind,



To his varie affectionat freind
Mr Archibald Douglas.

Sen Roger[2] pairtit I haue diſkifferit him to be a knaif better than of befor, bot I caire not; lat him incur no ſkaithe.

Remember me oft to Sir Philip Sidney.

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 66, fol. 139.

[2] There is written on the back, in a contemporaneous hand, 'Rog. Ashton doubted.' He was an English Messenger between the Courts of England and Scotland.

FRANCIS STEWART, EARL OF BOTHWELL, TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

My lord and brother, I hewe reſewet ane letter from his Maieſtie, verray ſcharp, deſyring me to wreit þe heill purpoiſis þat was betwix Sir William Stewart[2] and me yeſterday, as oft ye mouet. I ſaid to him, vithin ten dayis, I ſwold heire preſentlie to þe hwrt of ſwm mon about his Grace, quhilk gif I wald declair þe verray trewth, I ſwold heue his Heihnes fauor and preſence ſoner nor I belewit. I hewe wretine at lenth þe hiele ſircumſtainces of þat matier to his Maieſtie to þe reporteing of them, as ſalbe manifeſt, praying you to geit þe ſyght of my ſaid letter, þat ye may be aſſurit of [my] honeſt part in that, as becumis me of my honour. Now, Sir, I am glad, vith my hert, that thair ewill will towartis me manifeſtis to ſek formis of deling; to be ſchort, quhair I am oblifit to beir gud will, I ſalbe treu and conſtant. Gif my Lord of Arren, or Sir William, vill allage any thing in my naime þat I reportit to tham, I ſall cawyſe tham eit in thair wordis in thair throt. Theirfoir be of gud cwrage, and cair nocht thair vikkit inwention. Do quhat thay can, prowyding we hewe the King our Maieſtys gud fawor, albeit thay ar knawin to be ſik men as they ar, yet lat nocht þe Secretar nor þe Juſtice Clark dowt of my honeſtie, quhom onto I profes freindſchip, nor your Lordſhip quhom in herte I ſa grytlie eſteime; as your brother James,[3] and Thomas Tyrir[4] will in þat ſchaw you

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. fol. 203.

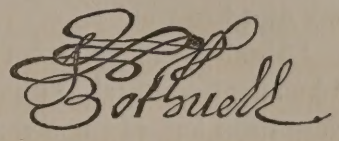
[2] 'This Sir William Stewart was in his qualiteis and behavior na thing different from his brother, the Erle of Arran; a testimonie whareof he utterit in uncumlie words, upon a day in the Kings chalmer, aganis Francis Erle Bothwell. The said Bothwell having regarde to the place, said na thing for that tyme; bot within this tyme that Maxwell is his preasoner in Edinburgh, it fortunit Bothwell and Sir William to encounter with thair cumpaneis, whare Bothwell maid the first onset for the former injurie, accumpaneit with a broder of Patrik Maister of Gray, whome Sir William had delatit of before; and after a light combat Sir William was killit out of hand.' This event occurred in 1588.—*Hist. of James the Sext*, p. 237.

[3] James Gray of Davidstoun, one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber.

[4] It is probable that Thomas Tyrir, or Tyrie, was the son of David Tyrie of Drumkilbo, who married Lilias, fourth daughter of Patrick fifth Lord Gray.

at meir lenth. Swa, my hertlie commendationis being rememberit, I commit yow to þe protection of God. From Leith, þe xiiij of June, 1585.

Your Lordſhips meiſt lowing brother at power,



THE SPEACHES BETWEENE THE EARL BOTHWELL AND SIR WILLIAM STEWART.[1]

Sir William Stewart demaunded, 'What ſhould be the occaſion of the crymes betwixt my Lord of Arrane and me?' Whome to I anſwered, 'The innumerable breakes of his frendſhip never deſerved by me.'

He replieth, 'What if all thoſe may be taken away, are you not willing to enter in friendſhipp as of before?' I anſwered, 'By what manner?' He anſwered, 'I ſhall cauſe him oblige him ſelf to gett you the Kingis Maieſtys preſence, yet ere his Maieſtie goe over the water.' 'In doing that, I ſhould acquite my Lord of Arrane, as it apperteyned alwayes.'

'Are you not willing to enter into an ſure band of frendſhip with him?' I anſwered, 'That I could not, nor would not, enter with him, who had ſo ſhamefully broken his faeth and promiſe, till firſt hee obteyned me your Maieſties preſence, at what time I ſhould enter with him, as he had deſerved at my hands.'

'Well, I knowe what makes you ſo hard to enter in frendſhip with him.' 'What is that?'

'I knowe there is ten or twelve of you banded and confederate to the ſlaughter of the Erle of Arrane.' 'If you will ſay that I am banded, or that know any others to be banded, in his contrary, in that I will ſay you

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 171, fol. 201. These speeches are alluded to in the previous letter.

lyed. And yf I had knowne, I ſhould never haue beene participant of no Stewartes ſkayth or blood.' 'Alwayes I knowe you to be entred of new with ſome who hates him deadlie.' 'Who are thoſe?' 'You know them better then I.' 'It becomes me not to make any acquainted, but of my own free will.'

'Alwaies, and are ye not in frendſhip with the Maſter of Gray?' 'I am.' 'And the Secreter?' 'I haue no other occaſion.' 'Yet I knowe you favour them beſt of any man.' 'Truly it is of treuth, and ſhall fortefie and aſſiſt them in all their honeſt cauſes againſt all men, his Maieſtie onlie excepted.'

'Well, are ye not in frendſhip with my Lord of Montroſſe?' 'Hout, hout, what devill I haue to doe with my Lord of Montroſſe, but in ane common manner.'

'Alwaies to returne to our purpoſe, knowe ye nothing of their pretenſes in my brothers contrar? I pray you tell me, and geue me your adviſe and counſayle.'

'As to knowe any thing to be done in his contrar, by God, I am not participant in noe wayes. But this ffar I knowe him to haue a generall miſliking of the whole nobilitie and barons of this realme, ſo that all the whole countrey, were it deuided into tuenties, I am aſſured there would not be ſcarcelie one of each tuentie that would wiſhe him well.'

'Then geue me your councell howe it may be mended?' 'By this only meane, *Præſtat ſero ſapere quam nunquam*. Wott ye what that is? Better late thrive then never. Therefore my councell is, that, if he be willing to conqueſſe the heartes of thoſe which is loſed, he muſt be of a newe converſation; he muſt leave briberie and extraordinary extorcions, both of riche and poore, and caſt him to winne noble mens heartes, or elſe he will not fayle to lye in the myre.'

'My Lord, I will not trouble you anie longer; but I will goe to my Lord of Arrane, and I ſhall cauſe him ſatiffy you for all his bypaſt offenſes, which, if he fayle to doe, I ſhall then thrief my ſelf of him, and binde me to you againſt all whome ſoeuer.'

'Sir, I thanck you hartefully.' So we ended on Sunday, at three afternoone or thereby.

On Munday in the morning, moved by what motion I know not, where to ſee his love, or moved by ſome extraordinary occacion, he addreſſeth him ſelf to Trebrin, where not having comoditie, wee delayed our whole conference, while we were on horſback coming to Edinburgh; where he began to enter in reſpect of our former purpoſe, and began ſo: 'My Lord, if you would tell the truthe to the Kinges Maieſtie of all thinges, you would gett his preſence.' I anſwered, 'By God, ſo far as I knowe.'

'Then may I ſay to the Kinges Maieſty, that you will declare to his Maieſtie them twelve noble men who are confederate and banded to take my Lord of Arranes life, or, at leaſt, to debarre him his Maieſties preſence; or, may I ſay it in your name?'

'In my name!' I anſwered, before Mr Robert Hepburne, who heard the whole purpoſe. 'Yes, I will ſay it to the Kinges Maieſtie in your name.' 'Nay, an you ſay it, by Godis body, I will ſay that you lied like a knave in ſaying of it.'

'Yet I may ſay that you are banded with the Maiſter of Gray and the Secreter?'

'Nay, neither; ffor and ye ſay that, yet you lied. But ſay that I eſteeme of the Maſter of Gray and the Secreter, as my moſt ſpeciall frendis, and that ſay.

THE COPIE OF ERLE BOTHWELL'S LETTER TO THE KING.[1]

I HAUE here ſett downe vnto your Maieſty, the true diſcourſe of the whole purpoſe paſſed betwixt vs, at both our meetings, which ended on a promes on his parte, that I ſhould haue preſence this day, yf I would enter in frendſhip with the Erle of Arrane. Wherefore, ſeeing it is offered to me conditionally by other handis, and yet I haue your Highnes promes, both by my ſervant and your Maieſties laſt letter, that I ſhall haue it in Dumfermeling, I muſt inſiſt that, as ſoone as it may ſeeme convenient to your Maieſtie, I may be beholden in it to your Maieſties owne good will and favour. So praying your Maieſtie to haue as great patience in the reading, as I haue had in the writing of it, after kiſſing of

[1] This article is referred to in Bothwell's letter to the Master of Gray.

your Maieſties handis, moſte humbly, I take my leave, committing your Maieſty to Godis good proteccion. From Leyth the xiiijth of June, 1585.

HEADS OF INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN TO CAPTAYNE BRUCE FOR G. BY A.[1]

Shewe the Maſter of Gray the danger wherein he appeares to remayne, and that he needes not hereafter to look for any favour here, vnles he be able to make excuſe for deedis paſt, which, in my opinion, he cannot be able to doe, without his vtter ruine, except he poſſeſſe our Soueraignes favour, that he may let him vnderſtand.

POSTSCRIPT IN THE SAME INSTRUCCIONS BY A. TO G.

Sir, Theis proceedings are evill fallen out for the King his ſervice, and worſe for your particuler welfare; and I cannot beleif that you would alter your former courſe, vnles you were entered on ſome other that you thinck better for his ſeruice and your owne weale. Yf ſo be, I pray you lett me knowe thereof, that I may retire my ſelf in ſafety and honeſty foorth of this realme, to followe your fortune whatſoeuer; ffor here wilbe no abiding for me, if theis baniſhed Lordes ſhall receaue the comfort they looke for. What was prepared for you and frendes, if theis vnhappy newes had not intervened, the bearer can declare. I pray you haſte the anſwere hereof and of the memoriall with expedicion.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[2]

Since the directing of my laſte vnto you of the date of the foureteenth

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 193, fol. 226. Dated 20th Aug. 1585. This and the following letter appear to have been written by Mr Archibald Douglas, then at the English Court, to the Master of Gray.

[2] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 194, fol. 226. This article is titled in the manuscript, ‘ A letter written in white inke from A. to G. the xxj. of August 1585.’

of Auguſte, I haue beene diuers times at Courte, and haue aſſayed, by ſuch ſmall credit as I haue, to qualify ſome of theis hard apprehenſions conceaved of our Soveraignes proceedinges. I perceave my travell can not prevayle, neither ſee I howe this matter can be well helped, vnles ſome matter in action be performed, whereby this inconſtant dealing, ſo termed by thoſe of the Councell, may be removed. Her Maieſtie doth vtter ſpeeches that ſhe would neuer haue beleeued that the King, or any of his wiſe Councell, would ſo far ouer ſeene them ſelues, as to write one day to her that ſuch and ſuch matters ſhould be performed, and on the next day thereafter, not abiding her anſwere, would then overthrowe the ſame: ſo manifeſt a mockery, that noe gentleman of reputation would haue vſed the like to his inferiour or ſervaunt. And as hir Maieſtie and Counſailors are grieved at the manner of proceedinges, ſo is there a number of gentelmen, frendes to the treſpaſſed, wounded in minde, for the ſlaughter of the gentell man of ſo greate expectacion; whereuppon there is occaſion taken by vnfrendis to aggrevate this matter in ſuch manner, that hardly can any man or aſſured frend be found who will help to mittigate this matter; and that which may help this matter, I feare, will be ſo vnpleaſant to his Maieſty, that I will not preſume to open my parte of it. Theis baniſhed Lordes are like, not only to finde the aſſiſtance and favour of all perſons grieved, but alſo to procure greater liberty, which, vnto this time, had been ſtreight by th'only meane of Sir Francis Walſingham, the remanent Counſaylors, for the moſte parte, being abſent from Court. My Lord of Leiceſter is not yet returned, but by letters which I haue ſeene from his Lordſhip, he heavily lamented the manner of theis proceedinges, ſpecially bycauſe of the good appearance that might haue enſeued, if matters had beene right followed out.

As I writte vnto you before that Andwerp was rendred, ſo is it nowe . . . . . The forme of the appointment ſhalbe ſent vnto you by the next. Her Maieſtye had receaued the countrey of Holand and Zeland, geven vnto her by the Eſtates thereof, and hath but 9000 men for receaving poſſeſſion of ſuch townes as ſhuld be deliuered into her keeping. Theis twoo provinces, beeinge the places in Chriſtianity moſt abundant in ſhippes, beene ioyned to this country, are thought able, not only to

defend them ſelves againſt all enemies that would invade of bothe, but alſo to ſtopp any other nation, but ſuche as they pleaſe to approve in any porte of this Iland, or her Maieſties dominions; and hereuppon they haue founded the firſte ſurety of this eſtate, and are not muche like to ſeeke the ayde of any foren Prince for eſtableſhing of their ſurety. I pray God his Maieſty may be moved to deviſe ſome good meanes, whereby hir Maieſty may remayne contented of his proceedinges, and his Highnes recover the favour which he vniuerſally had obteyned of this floureſhing nation, abounding in wealth and riches. In France it is geven out, that the King altogether miſlikes of theis Guiſardis, and that there doth appeare a peace to followe betwixt the King and Proteſtantes, whereby the former edict ſhalbe ratified, and the laſte aboliſhed. Poverty, and lack of mony to ſuſteyne theis warres, is like to produce theis effectis, and that ſhortly. As matters falleth out you ſhall haue further aduerteſement.[1]

I began your letter with no ſmall regard, bycauſe I feared the ſame cours to be in hand at this time, which of before I cauſed Thomas Milles, vnder ſecrett, to open vnto you. I moſte hartely pray you to be wyſe, and with your ſelf to conſider thereof. The opening of it may doe great harme, and keeping ſecrett with knowledge no ſmall good. The remedy in theis matters for your particuler apperes to be this, to excuſe your ſelf by writt, and to move the King to deale by action hereafter, and yf you can be the doer your ſelf, you will recover reputation to bothe. Before this can come to your handis, the Ambaſſadour will lett you to vnderſtand what is reported of you, and committ to his eares, and he will deſire to knowe the verity thereof of your ſelf. But I think he will not let you vnderſtand who is the reporter, bycauſe I would not obteyne ſo far commaund to be geven vnto him. But this far I can not hide from you, the men that you ſuſpect are the doers, which I pray you, moſt hartely, to keepe ſecrett, bycauſe the opening thereof wilbe my vtter diſcredite, and hurtful to yourſelf. The ſound of the report is this: You are the chief furtherer of Arenes liberty; hath receaved good deed for doinge thereof;

[1] The continuation of this letter, as stated in the MS., was written 'in white incke, of the same day, and to the same person, from A.'

is entred in dealing with the Jeſuites; and vſeth diſſimulacion in the courſes with England. The matter was very hardly taken here, ſpecially by her Maieſty, and heauily lamented by your ſpeciall freindis. And truly matters are entred in ſo hard apprehenſions, that I feare this inconſtant kinde of dealinge of impriſoning at one day, and releaſing at another, without her adviſe, ſhall giue occaſion of ſpeach and thinking, at all times hereafter, that nothing ſhalbe beleeved of that which ſhall come from that countrey, except it ſhall conſiſt in actions. And, to ſpeake the truthe, it was not well done to ſett Arren at liberty before returning of her Maieſties Ambaſſadour, by reaſon all men condemnes the King in that matter, eether of inconſtancy, or then þat it was done for ieſting with her Maieſty, which is very euil taken, as will appeare by her Maieſties letteris to the King. I haue travelled diuers times that her Maieſty might haue vſed ſome mitigation, but I perceave my labours will not prevayle, vnles his Maieſty make ſome amendement by action. So far as concerneth theis baniſhed Lordes, I ſee the whole frendis of Sir Thomas Ruſſell not only minded to giue them countenance and aſſeſtance, but her Maieſty is alſo begining to give eare to their peticions, and to cauſe queſtions of their force at home to be demaunded. *It wilbe dangerous to ſuffer that courſe to goe forwardes, by reaſon it cannot be called back when men would. In my opinion it ſhalbe well done to lay the perill open to his Maieſty*, and to lett him vnderſtand nothing can help that matter, and bring him in credite and favour here, as he was before, except doing by action; and no action can be able to help, but the releiving of the baniſhed Lordes, or then the deliuery of Arren and Ferniherſt,[1] to be vſed at their pleaſure, or then the performing of both. I think reaſon ſhould move his Maieſty to remeid theis matters, before they come to further ripenes, otherwiſe when men would doe good, matters wilbe vnremedible, as I writ to you before that writ was loſt.

I dare make no recommendacion vpon this text leſt I ſhould eſeeme partiall.

[1] Sir Thomas Ker of Fairnihirst.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.[1]

My honourabill Lord. Albeit that finding my ſelf verie far intereſit, by the to ſodune aduertiſment the Embaſſadour maid of me, I aſſuret him that I vould not deall forder in maiters, til I ſhould haue bein ſatiſfiet: yit, ſeing the King, my Souueraine, his eſtet perreſht, the courſe lykly to be ouerthrown, and my ſelf and my freindis apperantly to be reducit to ſutche miſerie, that our lyfis and landis ſhouldeſt be ſubiect to the mercie of our enemies, I haue impertit to him the verie moyen quhou all theis euillis may be remediit, and hes left afe all particulair querell. I ves heir in ſutche place as I could not vryt my ſelf in ciffre, and I vould not commit it to patent letter, ſo I haue prayit him to vryt of it to your Lordſhip and the reſt of my honourable freindis. And ſume other thing I haue vritten to Mr Douglas, for to ſchau your Honour, and vil pray you for your helpin hand, and, in grace of God, I ſhall bring maiters about, to the veil of bothe þe princes and realmes, to the contentment of you and all godly perſonages, and for the ruin of my ennemeis, quho hes diſſiryt my vrak, and of the courſe, and to the gryt diſpleaſur of all richt men. It vil pleaſe your Honour to mak Mr Douglas acquent vithe your Lordſhips counſell, quhou ye villit I ſhould vſe my ſelf in maiters, to the end, he may lat me vnderſtand it in chiffre; and I ſhall do good vil to conforme my ſelf in all thingis to your contente. Bot one [thing] cheifly is to be aduiſſit vpone, that Arrane and Mortoun ar pacquit vpe, and maiters compoſit betwene them, for it hes a forder tail than ve haue hithertile forſein, albeit in deid it haithe verie gryt ſchow: of the effectis, I haue delyuerit to the Embaſſadour and Mr Douglas; for it is of treuthe that their Jeſuiſtes repairit to Mortouns hous, and euer ſince he hes haid, as is ſpokin to the King, in his hous daily, meſs, and all his men, for ſure, ar payit vithe Frenche crounes. So that ve feir the apprehenſioun of the King

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art 195, fol. 228.

his awin perſoun for to be takin in France; vitche accordis verie veil to þat my oncle came for to mak me aduertiſment, þat the hole Guiſartis hoppit ſhurly to ſee the King in France yit befor Allhallowday. The vorſt is the King is young and cairles, and in his tym hes neuer teaſtit any frowning ſtorme, vitche makis him beleue that no man dar attempt any ſutche maiter. Bot if thingis be not in tym remediit, I am ſchreudly affrayit that he become vyſe throu a verie hard experience; bot of þis your Honour vil know more particulairly a vther day. As your Honour thinkis expedient, you may ſchaw of þis to þe Queen hir Maieſtie your Souueraine. Now only reſtis to thank you verie grytly, for the courtaiſie ſchewit to my oncle. I hoyp in recompence I ſhall mak him do you ſeruice. So taking leue, I comit your Honour to God his holy protection. Frome our Court at Inchemerin, quhair ſkairſly for hounting ether do ve ſleip or eat, 25 of Auguſt, 1585.

Your Honours obedient to do you ſeruice,

Jas. Mr of Gray

To his honorable Lord th'Earle of
Leiceſter, Gryt Steuart of England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Her Maieſty vnderſtanding that you ſhould be greatlie greeued, vpon ſome doubt conceaued, that her good conceipt of you was altred vpon informacion ſent from thence, that you were fallen away from that devocion you profeſſed to beare towards her, ſhe hath willed me to ſignefie vnto you, that in caſe ſhe ſhould haue beene ſo lightlie carried away vpon a bare informacion, without reſerving an eare for you, ſhe ſhould have

[1] From the original minute, dated 4th September 1585, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 200, fol. 133.

done noe leſs wrong to herſelf than vnto you,—vnto her ſelf, for that it ſtandeth not with the place of iuſtice ſhe holdeth, to condemne anie to die vnheard;—and vnto you, that having deſerued, (as no man more), ſo greatlie at her handes, ſhe ſhould fayle to yeald you that, which every comon perſon may, in courſe of iuſtice, clayme, and that is, the reſervacion of an eare. Beſides, when ſhe looked into your birthe, which is honourabill, that noe pointe of honour is greater then to be true of word, or vnto your iudgment and wiſedome, which can not but right well diſcerne, that noe frendſhipp or amitie can be ſo profitable as the amitie of England vnto the King, your maiſter, of whoſe well doinge noe Scott can be more carefull, ſhe cannot thincke that you can be eaſilie carried away by a contrarie courſe, to ffayle either in pointe of honour touching yourſelf, or in dutie touching your ſoueraigne. And therefore, doth pray you to lay all doubtes and iealouſies aſide, and to aſſure your ſelf that the Queen of England will never condemne ſo devoted a gentelman, as the Maſter of Gray is, vppon ſlight brutes without receaving your anſwere.

This much I wrote by her Maieſties comaundement and eſpeciall direccion. For my ſelf I doe aſſure you that no one thing did, for the time ſince I entred into the publique charge I nowe holde, greeue me more then that our Ambaſſadour, through ſuch a cunning practiſe and abuſe offred him, ſhuld be made an inſtrument to call in queſtion the credite of his beſt frend, and one whome he hathe profeſſed to loue moſte in that realme. But this breach is nowe ſalved, and that opinion conceaved of you, that you have right worthily deſerved, which I will ſeeke to nouriſhe with noe leſſe care then my owne perticuler credite. And ſo, Sir.

MONSIEUR FONTENAY TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.[1]

Madame à ce que je peux prevoir des choſes D'Eſcoſſe, ceſte negociation D'Angleterre ſe reſouldra en fumée, ou pour le moins il ſe paſſera

[1] Extracted from Fontenay's letter, dated at Paris, 'ce premier de . . . , 1585,' in *Murdin's State Papers*, p. 538.

beaucoup de avant que l'en venir à une concluſion; mais cependant Gray ſe ſervant de l'authoritè de la Reyne D'Angleterre, pour diſgracier Aran, et ſe mettre en ſa place, je crains et croy qu'il remplira l'Eſcoſſe de factions et diviſions, opposant les Hamiltons, à la mayſon de Lennox. Encore que les commencemens de pratiques du dit Gray n'en donnent apparence, il eſt apres aultant qu'il peult pour fayre retournir en cour, et repatrier avec le Roy d'Eſcoſſe, les contes De Huntley, D'Athol et Bothwell, et aultres, par le lemoyen deſquelz il faict eſtat de fayre rappeler les Hamiltons à la ruine du conte D'Aran, et pour leur moyen le combattre de ſon authorite, ce qui en fin ne peult revenir qu' avec un tres perilleux hazard et du Roy voſtre filz, et par conſequent de voſtre majeſté. Laquelle, a ceſte cauſe, je ſupplie tres humblement me faire ſcavoir lequel de deux elle mieux aymeroyt la rayne du conte D'Aran, ou De Gray, pour ce que j'ay intelligence avec l'un et avec l'autre pour conduire ceſt affayre ſelon voſtre deſir. A la verite il feroyt fort expedient de ruiner le conte D'Aran, et par le moyen de Gray, en ce fayſant, faire approcher de Roy le conte de Huntley et aultres bien affectionnez à voſtre majeſté, mais je crains que cela advenant par le moyen de Gray, et conſequemment par l'entremiſe de la Reyne D'Angleterre, ceulx qui auparavant en deſpit D'Aran, qui l'an paſſe negocioit avec elle, luy eſtoyent ennemis, ne deviennent les voſtres, par ſes pratiques et corruptions. La ſoudaine et frequente mutation D'Eſcoſſe, et des humeurs de la plus part de ceulx, qui y vivent, principalement en cour, me faict apprehender ceſt inconvenient, quequel promeſſes qu'a mon partement le conte D'Huntley, et pluſieurs aultres m'ayent faict de leur fidelitié à l'endroit de voſtre majeſté, et pour ce, ſi j'en eſtoys creu voſtre majeſté ne ſe declareroyt ny d'un coſte, n'y d'aultre, juſques à ce que voſtre majeſté viſt plus clairement lequel de deux eſt pour demuerer aupres du Roy. Je ſcay bien que Gray deſeſpere de puvoir jamais mais obtenir pardon de voſtre majeſté, faict tout ce qu' il peult pres du Roy, et ſous ſon authorite pres de la Reyne D'Angleterre, pour faire deſarmer voſtre majeſté De Nau, et tous aultres ſerviteurs Francoys, et en leur place en ſubſtituer l'aultres Anglois ou Eſcoſſoys à la devotion de la Reyne D'Angleterre, et d'un Roy D'Eſcoſſe, qui des auparavant que je partiſe D'Eſcoſſe, j'en ay faict ſolliciter vivement le Juſ-

tice Clerke ſon dernier embaſſadeur en Angleterre. Le conte de Montroſſe a ſigné la bande du conte D'Aran avec pluſieurs aultres my lords et barons. Au contraire Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, le Secretaire Methland, Sir Robert Melvin, et aultres y compris les puynez Setons (car my lord eſt du coſte du conte D'Aran), onte ſigné la bande de Gray contre luy. My lord Claude Hamilton, qui eſt par deça, a d'eſperance de retourner en Eſcoſſe par ce moyen. Madam, voyla ce que je ſcay et prevoy de l'eſtat D'Eſcoſſe pour jourd'huy, me mettant du reſte à ceulx qui en ſcavent plus de moy.

THE RELATION OF THE MASTER OF GRAYE, CONCERNING THE SURPRISE OF THE KINGE AT STERLINGE.[1]

For the reformacion of matters out of order, both in the court particularly, and the gouernment generally, of Scotland, and the removeing of ſome bad inſtrumentis (namely, th'Earle of Arrane, by whoſe credite the Kinge was runing a courſe that this ſtate might not ſuffer) from the Kinge, it was at laſt thought expedient to let looſe, and turne downe the Lords baniſhed and abidinge in London to the Borders.

But before they ſhould goe downe, a partye was firſt prouided for them on the Borders, to ioyne with them, and ſecret friends wrought for them in the court, againſt they ſhould come forward; the chiefe whereof was the Maſter of Gray, oppoſite enemy to Arrane, and as great a fauourite of the King as he. Theſe thinges being rype, the Ambaſſador retyreing himſelf at the inſtant, it ſo fell out, that he aryving at Barwick the xvj of the laſt moneth, the Lords were come down to the Borders the next day after.

The Lords, tearmed the Lords of the faction, or baniſhed lords, were theiſe: th'Earles of Angus and Marre, the Maſter of Glamis, the Lordis of

[1] From the Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 224, fol. 260. This article will also be found in the Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. I. p. 129.

Arbroth, Paſhley, Cambuſkenneth and Dryborrough, and others. The oppoſite were, th'Earles of Arrane, Montroſſe, Crawford, Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, Arranes brother, and the Lord of Downe, &c.

The firſte meetinge of the baniſhed Lords together was at Kelſo within the midle Marches, and thence divided themſelues thus: Angus and his company, the better to gather frendis, went to Pebles, not farre from Edinburgh; Arbroth and his company went to Dumfreys, to ioyne with the Lord Maxwell, that had bene in armes all the ſumer before, for a particuler againſt Johnſton, the Kings Warden; and ſo being ſeuered, appoincted for a generall rendevous, or meting-place, at Faukirk, xij myles from Sterlinge, the laſte of that moneth; where they met together, and were to the number of 8,000 horſe and footemen.

Here all were like to fall in sonder by reason of the Lord Bodwells wauering.

The Maſter of Gray in this tyme was gone from the Courte to gather friendis, and meant to ſurpriſe Saint Johnſtone, being ſecretly friendis for the Lords of the faction, but pretended to levy all that he did for the Kinge, that then purpoſed to make a rode upon the Lord Maxwell, comaunding all men from ſixty to ſixteen, to goe with him. All this tyme Arrane lay at his howſe at Kenneil, ſo comaunded by the King vpon the ſuſpicion of the Lord Ruſſells ſlaughter; but vnderſtandinge of Mr Wottons ſecret retyre, and the comeing of the baniſht Lords, whome he tearmed rebellis, to the Borders, he repayred to the courte, enformeing the Kinge of all that he heard, perſuadeinge the Kinge that all this was done with the Maſter of Grayes privitie and knowledge; and therefore, deſirous that the King ſhould take his life from him, drew him for to ſend for the Maſter of Gray with diligence.

The Maſter beinge ſent for, (he was then aſſemblinge his friendis in the Fife ſhyre,) was doubtfull what to doe, beinge privily advertiſed that his life was fought for by Arrane; yet feareing leaſt his abſence ſhould overthrowe the whole plot, and by giveing place to Arrane, hazard the cauſe, adventured and came to the Kinge, whome he found gracious, and beleived all that the Maſter had ſaid in his purgacion; which when Arrane and his complices ſawe, they determyned to kill him in the Kingis preſence amongſt themſelves, or at the leaſt within the caſtell.

But whileſt they were thus occupyed in court, word came that the Lordis

were marched and come within a mile of Sterlinge, which gaue Arrane and them cauſe to bethink themſelues of defending the towne; and all the night, the firſt of November, with Montroſſe and the reſt, he watched on the walles himſelf in perſon.

The next morninge, the ij of November, the Lords marched towardes the towne, with purpoſe to ſcale the ſame. But Arrane, knoweing all this ſtorme to be bent onely at his head, and ſuſpectinge falſehood in fellowſhip, and his own deſertes, with one man fled ſecretly out of the towne, over the bridge. The reſt, ſeing him ſlip away, retyred all into the caſtell, where the King, and Maſter of Gray, and other ſecret frendis to the Lords were.

The towne thus abandoned made ſmall reſiſtance, but gaue entrance to the Lords, who forthwith made themſelues maſters thereof, by ſeazeing of the market place, and th'Earle of Marres houſe.

After the breakeinge into the towne, they went ſtraight and ſett vp their banners before the ſparre of the caſtell, that was cramde full in a manner of great perſonages, with the King, ſome friendes, ſome enemyes.

The King the next morninge ſends out the Secretary and Juſtice-clerk, to take aſſurances for ſuch as ſhould come to parle with them.

Which done, the Maſter of Gray was ſent to them from the King, to demaund the cauſe of their comeinge; and after an houres commoninge returnes, and makes an honourable reporte of their dutifull ſubmiſſion and deſire to ſee his Maieſty, and kiſſe his handis.

The King, reteyneinge a feare that Arrane had put him in of them, ſent them word, that if they would haue their landis and liueings and departe, he would giue them all.

They inſiſt ſtill vpon entringe the caſtell to ſee his Maieſtye, whoſe favour they ſought more then their liveings. Whereat the King returneing the Maſter againe to them, propounded three things to them; viz. the ſafety of his own perſon; no innovacion in the ſtate; and the aſſurance of the liues of ſuch as he ſhould name.

They made anſwere, that for the Kinges perſon they neuer meant harme vnto it, but would dye in defence of it. They deſired no innovacion. But for the third propoſicion, ſeing they were the men that had for ſo longe a tyme bene iniured, they deſired rather that for their ſuretye

hereafter, the perſons, as they knew to be their enemyes, might be deliuered into their guard and handes, together with the fourtes and ſtrengths of the realme.

About theis two pointes there was much adoe, and a day ſpent in debateinge: yet, at length, what with the want of victualles for ſo greate a number, the caſtell, together with the goodwill of the mediators neceſſitye, enforced to yield vnto it, and ſo were the gates opened, the Lords let in, and admitted to the Kinges preſence.

The firſt thinge after their entry, was the deliuery of the perſons of Montroſſe, Crawford, Rothes, (Earles,) Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, the Lord of Downe, and others; Arrane beinge fled, as ſaid is, before.

Immediatly after was Arrane proclaymed traytour at the marquet place, in the Kinges name. The Kinges guard altered, and in the afternone of the ſame day, a pacifficacion and remiſſion proclaymed in the Lordes behalfe, all faultis forgiuen, and all thinges reputed as done for the Kings ſeruice.

The caſtell of Dumbritton aſſigned to Arbroth, the chiefe of the houſe of the Hamyltons, and of right Earle of Arrane. The caſtell of Edinburgh graunted to the keepeinge of Coldingknowes; and other ſtrengthes to the reſt, as Tomptallon to Angus; and Sterlinge to Marre, &c.

And thus hath the good ſucceſſe in court fallen out, beinge well handled off all parties, which giueth hope to the Miniſters to recouer their Sinode againe againſt the Biſhops; and ſo to reſtore the diſcipline of the Church, if not better, at leaſt as well as it was before Arranes gouerment.

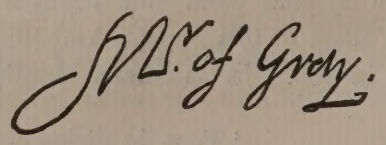
THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

Sir, Albeit of late I wrote vnto you, yeat Robert Caruel, coming vnto me by your command, thought without lettre, for to knawe what was th'effect of this French Ambaſſadours negociating, I have inſtructed him at length. He is named Monſieur De Valle, ſonne in lawe to Monſieur

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 244.

Pynart, and I think, by his addreſe, for he is very young and litle thing in him, he hath for tutors, a ſecretary of his fathers in lawe, and the fellow Curſolles, that was ſecretary to Meluiffier in England, who hath diſguiſed him ſelf from Curſoles to De Preau, to the end he ſhould not be knawen. Some think he is ſent, (I meane Curſolles), by the Kings mother, our Quene ſometime. But how euer it be, they kepe therin as yeet very quiet, neuer a one of them fortés their lodging. He neuer hath craued audience but one day. All he diſponit that day was his letters and ſome language. In his lettre off . . . . . , there was a clauſe which offended the King, for it bare, that of ald Scotland eſtemed of Fraunce as ther *bouclier et appuie contre tous venants*, and that the Kingis of Scotland were ſubiect vnto France. This ſore offendid the King, and he gaue hard language. But the ſimplicity of the Ambaſſadour was remarked in it, for this letter was of date 10 October, and he had one more recent, wryten by the King ſince he was ſurely informed of the alteration heer, but he preſented both without reſpect had of þe tyme. It was thought he had brought great ſomes of money; but it is not ſo. The effect of his negociation is to traffique with ſondry of the nobility, rather then with the Kingis ſelf; but he is a ſimple ſoule. I remit the reſt to Carvill. I am fully aduertiſſed from Spayne þat there is great preparation made both of men and ſhipps, and ſome thereby . . . . Ireland, as chiefly the Papiſtes of this contrey. Of this they are aſſured; but I am not of their opinion, that euer the King of Spayne will ſend money into Ireland: Well he may ſend ſome alwayes, it maks them of the relegeon prowder. What hath been of late here, I wrote vnto you of before. I pray you forget not my commendations to my Lord Leiceſter and Sir Philip Sidney. And craving that you reteeyne me in your good grace, I comit you to Godis holy protection. From the Court at Hallirudhouſe this 29th of January, [1585].

Your loving freind to command,



THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.[1]

Ryght Honorable my verie good Lord, I receaued your Lordſhips letter the verie daye of my departeur towards Scotlande, concerninge the forces which your Lordſhip is deſyerus to have owte of Scotlande; which letter gave me occaſion ſome what to ſaye to have Mr Secretars opinion concerninge the ſame: which is, that yt pleaſe your Lordſhip that, immediatly vpon the receate of this my letter, to wryte your ſelf a letter to the Maſter of Graye, requeſtinge hym, (as he hathe offered), to accepte the charge of ſo maynye as your Lordſhip dothe deſyer from thens, with knowledge of th'intertaynmente to ſiche perſon of charge, or gentleman of ſpeciall note, that he ſhall bringe with hym. Bycauſe, alſo, that this requerethe monye to have them leviede, and for their tranſportinge to the place where theye ſhall ſerve, that your Lordſhip wyll alſo wryte your mynde therin, that nothinge ſhalbe dowted of or leaft in ſuſpence at my comynge thythir, to be accomplyſhed accordinge to your Lordſhips wyll and deſyer.

I am alſo wylled to put your Lordſhip in mynde, that as the Maſter ſelf wyll take this to be a greate honour, (as he proffeſſes), to ſerve vnder your Lordſhip, ſo hathe he wrytten hyther to Mr Archibalde; which letteris have byne ſeen by her Maieſtie, and your Lordſhip made privie by Mr Secretarie to the ſame, from whom his Honour thoughte that he ſhilde have had anſwer before that tyme, and therfore nowe wyſhethe that your Lordſhip wolde wryte vnto the Maſter of Graye ſelf, bothe thankis for his willingenes, and the frendlye offer made vnto your Lordſhip, which, yf it be performed, the Kinge ſelfe muſte be imbarked in this action, (which is a thinge of no ſmale momente), for that yt cane not be done withowte the Kingis conſent and allowance. Yt maye be that your Lordſhips letter maye be as ſone in Scotlande as I; to whom, yf yt pleaſe your Lordſhip to ſende your letteris, (as maynye tymes by ſea your Lordſhip maye

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art. 84, fol. 169.

do), I wiſhe that theye were directed vnto me, lodgynge at Mr Alexander Clerkis howſe in Edenbourge. Mr Killegrewe knoweth the partie, and yf God ſende me wyll thyther, ther ſhalbe no thinge leafte be me vndon, that ether your Lordſhip ſhall commande, or my ſelf cane thynke, that may tende to the performance of that worthye and noble enterpryſe of your Lordſhips. As oft I maye, your Lordſhip ſhall heare from me, or Mr Harrie Killegrewe, whoſe hande yt maye pleaſe your Lordſhip to vſe, for ſome tymes ſparinge of your owne, or yt beinge buſyed in ſo maynye wayes as yt is. That your Lordſhip maye knowe ſome what of the preſent ſtate of Scotland, as nowe it is, I ſende your Lordſhip this incloſed. And ſo deſyeringe God to proſper your Lordſhips enterpriſe, and all wayes ſende you well to do, I hvmillye tayke my leave. At my howſe in London vpon St Peters hyll, the vijth of ffebruarie, 1585.

Your Honour Lordſhip euer to commandes,

Tho. Randolph

To the right honorable my verie good Lorde, th'Erle of Leiceſter, Lord Governour of the Lowe Countrys of Flanders.

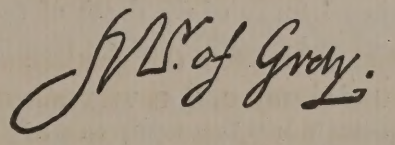
THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

Sir, I haue ſent this gentleman my ſeruant to my Lord of Leiceſter, to knou his mynd, if he vil craue that men be leuiat furthe off this country for his ſeruice thair. I vrot of befor to your Honours ſelf, bot than I intendit only to haue maid voyage vithe ſum of my auin priuat friendis

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 73, fol. 148.

and ſeruandis, or a feu vther. Bot nou I vnderſtand, by a letter vrottin from my Lord of Leiceſter to my Lord Embaſſadour for hir Maieſtie, that he is deſyrous for ſum troupes in quantitie, ſo that I did tak deliberation to know reſolutly quhat numbre his Lordſhip vil craue; for ether feu or many, I am aible to fournis them in verie ſchort tym. Bot meiteſt it is, ſum fitt man of his auin be ſent in this country for that effect, or than, that Mr Randolphe reſaue the chairge thairof. For particulair, I recomend to you and his Lordſhip ſelf vithe aſſurance of honourable dealing, and this I vil promeis no man ſhall ſerue vnder him quha cariethe a better mynd to hir Maieſties eſtet. Bot haue committit crediet in þis, and all vther thinges þerin he hes to negotiat, to the berar quhom your Honour may crediet as my ſelf. I pray your Honour give him your aduyſe in this affair. Maiters heir goethe verie veil, and the league to take effect, albeit ſum ingrat ſtayers that haithe bein, *ſed remunerabuntur tandem mercede eorum.* The Embaſſadour and Mr Myllis vil informe your Honour ſoe lairgely of all thingis, that I vil hould my peace. Bot I ſhall aſſur you, in graice of God, in deſpyt of the Deuil, and all viſching the contrary, thingis ſhall not go vrong. Bot of this Mr Myllis and the berar vil informe your Honour at gryter lenthe, quhom I recommend to your accouſtumat courtaiſie ſcheuit to me and all myn. Ve do not a little meruaill at Mr Archibalds ſtay. The King is now in better diſpoſition touardis him than of leat. Nou, reſting to pray your Honour preſent to hir Maieſtie my heumble ſeruice, I leaue you in the protection of God Almychtie. Holyrood, 12 Feb. 1585.

Yours euer to be comandid vithe ſervice,



To the Right Honourable Sir Francis
Valſingham, principall Secretarie to
the Quenes Maieſtie of England.

THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

VPPON Saterday the xxvjth of February, I arrived at Edinburgh, and dined at North Berwick by the way with Mr Alexander Hume, ſometimes ſervant to the Earle of Murray. By order from the Kinge, there mett me at Muſſelborgh, the Juſtice Clerk,[2] accompanied with betwene 40 and 50 horſe, with ſondry gentlemen of the Kinges houſe. In Edinburgh I am lodged where your Honour was, the houſe being furneſhed with muche of the Kinges ſtuffe, whether beeing conducted by the Juſtice Clerke. After his departure from me, I ſent ſoone after Thomas Milles to the Secretary, deſiring to knowe the Kinges pleaſure for my repayre to his preſence. Monday in the afternoone was appointed for mine audience, and the Juſtice Clerke ſent for me. At the court gate the Maſter of Glames met me, and ſo by them twoo I was broughte vnto the Kinges preſence, with whome I found the young Duke of Lennox, the Erles of Anguſſe, Marre, Bothuile, the Lordes Claude Hamilton, Herris and Seaton, the Maſter of Gray, and the Secretary,[3] and others. My dutie beeinge done to the Kinge, and anſwere made to ſome queſtions that his Grace aſked me of her Maieſties health, I deliuered her Highnes letter, which, when he had read, 'I finde,' ſayeth he, 'a greate continuance of your miſtreſſes good will towardes me, and I will not fayle to do the like.' Then declared I the cauſe and the effect of my comeinge. As the matters were of weight and importance, ſo founde I in his countenance ſome alteracion, tokens, as I tooke them, of his paſſions of his minde, as namely, when I ſpake of the death of the Lord Ruſſel[4] I founde a ſhewe of ſadnes; and ſpeakinge of the league, he laughed almoſt openly, that ſuch as

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 256, fol. 294. There is no date to this letter, but it appears to have been written on the 1st or 2d March 1585-6.

[2] Sir Lewis Ballenden of Auchnoull.

[3] Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane.

[4] Sir Francis Russel, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, who was unfortunately slain in a Border fray by Ker of Farniherst, July 27, 1585.

obſerued his countenance perceaved that I ſpake of ſomething to his likinge. When I had ended my ſpeache, his Grace ſayeth thus vnto me, 'I muſt acknowledge myſelf ſo bounde to the Queene your miſtreſs, as if ſhe were my ſiſter; indeede better councell and aduiſe I cannot receaue from any, and, God willing, I intend to followe it.' Theis wordes he ſpake openly in the hearing of all in the chamber. For that I did but ſhortlie runne over the matters I am to deale in, but reſerved ſomewhat in ſtore to haue the freer acceſſe vnto him hereafter, I prayed him to take the thinges I had ſpoken of but as ſhorte notes of that which I would, with his good leaue, more at large imparte vnto him. He liked well of the requeſt, and gaue me leaue to come vnto him when and as often as I would. After this his Maieſty entreth into more private talke, and telleth me him ſelf, that there was an Ambaſſadour out of France farre younger then myſelf; one that had never beene Ambaſſadour before, and that ſeemed not to knowe this countrey ſo well as I doe. I told him that if he came with that minde and affection, in deede that I did, at all times to doe his Maieſtie and his countrey ſervice, it was not to be reſpected howe young he was, but what minde he bare. 'I trowe,' ſaid the King, 'it be well, but I haue not as yet dealt much with him.' I tooke occacion to ſpeake of the houſe of Guiſe, that procured his comeinge hither. I ſpake of Holt the Jeſuiſte, and commended his Graces intencion for the puniſhment of papiſtes, and ſuch as latelie had heard maſſe. He anſwered me, after much talke thereaboute, that he had but God only to ſerue, which he would endevour to doe [to] the vttermoſt of his power, and keepe amitie with her that had been ſo good vnto him. He told me him ſelf that, within a day or twoo, a nomber of papiſtes, which had hearde maſſe, ſhould be araigned, and the Lord Maxwells ſelf. I commended his doinge therein, the cauſe beinge Godis, and the quietnes of his countrey, which he ought to defend, but hoped that he would take one example of the Queene my miſtres, which is to ioyne mercy with juſtice. 'That (ſaid he), is the beſt ſacrifice to God. But,' ſayeth he, 'I haue found this man ſtubborne in his opinion.' He told me of a goode likelihoode of agreement betwene him and the Miniſters, for the orders of the Church, wherein, as I heare by others, he hath taken greate

paynes hime ſelf. Whileſt I was thus in talke with him, eſpying in my hand her Maieſties private letter, curiouſlie ſealed and made vp, 'Good faith,' (ſayes he, ſmilinge), 'ye haue ſomethinge els for me.' Whereat kiſſing the letter, I gaue it him, which he receaued with a merie countenance, and peruſinge the ſealing and direccion, (ſaid he), 'I knowe this hand writt well ynough, but I cannot read it without a knife to open it:' which when he had done, he tooke me ſome what aparte, and ſaid vnto me, I promiſe vppon mine honour, her Maieſties deſire in this letter ſhalbe performed: ſo, vnbuttoning his doublett, he putt the letter in his boſome. This done, I tooke my leaue, crauing a newe time for further declaracion of that which I had to ſay, which, he ſayed, ſhould be with in a day or twoo. I deſired to knowe which of his Councell it would pleaſe him to meate for me to deale with in the matters of my charge. He anſwered, firſt with him ſelf. I comended vnto him the good ſervice of ſuch as his Grace had employed towardes my ſoueraigne, as the Maſter of Gray, the Juſtice Clerke, and Mr Keeth. He gaue her Maieſtie thanckes for the honour that he had receaued in them. I not knowing the Secretary, he ſaid he would make mine acquaintance with him; which yet is not done, neither haue I as yet ſpoken with him, but expect, with in a day or twoo, to talke with him at my lodginge. Ere I departed I ſaluted all the Lordes in preſence, and ſo retiring was reconducted to my lodging by the Juſtice Clerke, Carmighell, and otheres. I finde the Juſtice Clerke well affected to the amitie, and furtherance of the league. He hath dealt openlie and plainlie with me in divers matters, ſpecially howe ſmall accompte is made here of my French riuall. He told me of the vnkindnes betwixt the Maſter of Gray and the Secretary, almoſt mortal. I told him that my coming was as well to take vpp debates generallie, as to treate of the league betwene theyre Maieſties; and that he liked well of.

Soone after my coming to my lodging, comes vnto me the Maſter of Gray. Many complementes paſſed betweene vs. He confeſſeth and ſpeaketh much of the honour that he hath receaved of her Maieſtie, promiſinge to acknowledge the ſame to his lives end, offering his ſeruice with the formoſt for the furtherance of any cauſe I had in hand, ſpecially

for the league, wherein he would doe his vttermoſt to further it nowe to her Maieſties contentment, and maynteyne it hereafter for the quietnes of both countries.

He and [the] Juſtice Clerck doe aſſure me, that the Kinges handes are cleane from receauinge of any princes golde hitherto, though the offers haue been great and promiſes large, to the which, through neceſſitie, he will be brought to incline very ſhortlie, or from her Maieſtie receaue ſuch ſupporte as in expectacion hath beene long, and is nowe, looked for, according to the former promiſes and ſpeaches that haue beene made by ſome from her Maieſty to him; and as theis twoo perſonages putt me in hope, and doe aſſure me, that that beeing done, there neither wilbe, nor can be, any thing to ſtay the performance of the league. So haue the aduerſaries to the ſame noe other thinge to alledge, but the vncerteinty therof, and long delays therein, whereas here it is preſently to be had. I leaue this to her Maieſties wiſdome, and your Honours remembrance, what I haue to promiſe if the league take effecte. I beſeech your Honour let me ſpeake it merilie out of Terence, and make it you knowe as you pleaſe, *Pecuniam in loco negligere, interdum maximum eſt lucrum*, and, *bis dat, qui cito dat.* But anſwere me not as the ſame author ſayeth, *ſententias loquitur carnifex.*

After the writinge of thus much, wherewith I purpoſed to end this letter, the Lord Claud Hamilton came vnto me, and in long ſpeache acknowledged all her Maieſties favour and benefites towardes him, promiſing faithful ſeruice to her Maieſtie during his life, and any thing that lawfully he may doe for her. And this he deliuered in noe leſſe earneſtnes of wordes to me, then he had written before to Sir John Foſter. He promiſeth me that nothinge ſhalbe left vnperformed by him, or his, to accompliſh her Maieſties deſire and contentacion. After his Lordſhip was gonne, there came vnto me the Secretary. Much good time was ſpent betweene vs, who could exceede others in complementis and cunning ſpeaches. Much talk we had of his brother, and favours receaued in England; but hoped that his dealing ſhould tend to a better end, having that good place which he hath vnder his Maiſter, to the furtherance of all good offices of amitie betweene the countries. He concluded, that whatſoeuer wanted in his brother ſhould, to the vttermoſt of his power,

be performed by him, ſpeciallie for the furtherance of the league nowe in hand. He deſireth that, as the acquaintance is alreadie begunne betweene your Honour and him in letteris, that the ſame may be continued, and triall taken of him, what goodwill he beareth to her Maieſties ſeruice. Thus we ended in good termes, good wordes, and greate kindnes. Judge you of our heartes as ye finde vs.

After he was departed Mr Keethe came vnto me from the Kinge, as he ſaid, who prayed me to write vnto her Maieſtie in the favour of James Hudſon, the Kinges ſervant, who hath a ſute vnto her Maieſtie. What it is I knowe not, but he movid it vnto me with great earneſtnes, as ſo comaunded from the King his maiſter, with a letter alſo to be deliuered vnto him. Thus much for this firſt diſpatch, Sir. From Edinburgh.

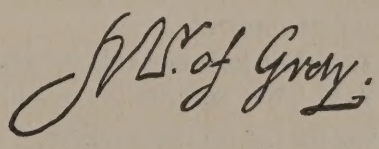
THE MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

My Lord, amongſt many courtaiſſies I did reſave from Mr Randolphe, hir Maieſteis Embaſſadour, the freindlie ſpeachis, it pleaſit you ſend me as of befor from Villiam Keythe, the Kingis late meſſinger, a letter from your Lordſhip. In recompence I ſhall honour you till I leve, and ſhall uſe your counſell, and euer ſhall continue to be, efter my moyens, a good inſtrument betuix the realmes and princes ſo long as I am preſent. Bot the treuthe is, I veirie to ly ydle at home, and, in grace of God, intendis to mak a voyag þis ſumer, vithe thre or four 1000 men, vitche ſhall tend to the veil of bothe the countryis: and becaus I maid firſt my offre to ſerue hir Maieſtie and hir Lieutenant in þe Low Countryis, I vil abyd til I reſave anſuer from my Lord of Leiceſter; and if I go in þat ſervice, it is verie treu it gainis þis point, þat it embarkis the King my Souveraine ſo agenſt Spaine, that heir Jeſuiſtes ſhall never have place to retir, it vil enter betuix Spaine and him in ſutche diffidence. And if I go not in þe voyag of the Low Countryis, than I muſt pray your Lordſhip to affiſt

[1] From the original among the Lansdowne MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 46, art. 58.

me, at hir Maieſteis handis, for help of ſum ſchiping for my former diſtiny, and hir Maieſtie ſhall knou that it ſhalbe verie prouſitable for hir eſtet. Bot I remit the particulars till I reſaue anſuer from my Lord of Leiceſter tuitching this uther propoſed ſtait: preſentlye vil tak leue in comitting your Lordſhip to Gods bliſſit protection. Edinb. 2 Martii, 1586.

Your Lordſhips to do you ſervice,



To the Right Honourable my Lord Bourghley,
Highe Theſaurer of England.

THE MASTER OF GRAYES SPEACH TO THOMAS MILLS.[1]

GAUALION. How goes your French matters, and your iorney?

GRAY. As to my iorney, how euer matters goes, I haue reſolued.

GA. But in caſe you goe not ſhortly, ye will not get leue to liſt men.

GR. Why, and who ſhall impeach me?

GA. *Monſieur, Je parlerey à vous liberment comme de couſtume.* The matters are purpoſed to be attempted vpon the ground, that once your Lordſhips ſelfe ſhould haue bin a doer in, and therfore it is a queſtion among them here, whether you be ſuffered to liſt men or not; and once they were of opinion that you liſted men, and the King to haue ſeaſed and ſtayed them to his vſe.

GR. By God, as to ſtaying of any þat I liſt, they would be deceaued, for I would put them away by companies as I liſted.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 99, fol. 179, where this article is dated 10th April 1586. Thomas Mills seems to have come to Scotland in the suite of Mr Randolphe, the English ambassador.

Ga. Then, but as touching the attempt, what ground has it, or for what purpoſe?

Gr. For releyuing the Queen of Scots.

Ga. They will not prevaile in that, for how ſone they enter England they will haue her head, and ſoe ſhall they want her alive.

Gr. Nay, that is not the ſcoope; for albeit they miſt of her, yet they caſt their accompt þat can they once ſubuert the eſtate of England, and alter relligion there, they make reckoning the King ſhall become Catholique incontinent.

Ga. But how can this be done?

Gr. They purpoſe to ſee and attempt the King in caſe he will doe any thing for his Mothers reliefe, if not, they ſhall attempt it notwithſtanding. But it is hoped þat the King ſhall concurre with them.

Ga. What here you for that?

Gr. By God, the Kings owne word.

Ga. I cannot beleeue you, Sir.

Gr. I aſſure you it is true, or ells the greateſt counſellor in Scotland deceiues them.

Ga. I trowe you meane þe Secretary. And knowes he of this matter?

Gr. That doeth he. And farther I ſhall ſay this much, the French Ambaſſador, ſpeaking with the King this other daye, ſayes to him, þat he vnderſtood of many matters propounded to his Maieſtie of great thingis, but, would he giue him audience, he ſhould lay greater matters in his lappe, and lay him out a readier and ſurer way then that he was borne in hand with. Quoth the King, 'when I ſee the ſame I ſhall anſwere you; for I wilbe glad of my aduantage when I ſee it.' 'Well,' quoth the Ambaſſadour, 'then I ſhall ſhew your Maieſtie more within this moneth.' Beſides G. Douglas hath brought with him a letter in cypher from the Duke of Guyſe, and offred it him; but the King hath refuſed to receiue it till a time. He has brought alſo lettres to the Lord Clawd from the 2 buſhopps.

Farrell ſundry letters by noblemen to be ſent into France.

Ga. But tell me, who are the hiters in this?

Gr. The Duke of Guyſe, Delbens, or de Mayne, Prince of Parma, or Duke of Sauoy, after credit taken with Guiuera.

Ga. And where will they land?

Gr. Between Humber and Tuede, in caſe they drawe their men out of Flanders.

Ga. They haue forces in Flanders already þat they will ſone call home?

Gr. Then, that action failes to the aduantage of the Spaniard. If they abide, the realme will be the weaker, and this they accompt of to begin in September.

Ga. To whome are the handling of theſe thingis committed here?

Gr. To Hay and Dury, Jeſuiſts of this country, and ſuch as they truſt; ſuch as G. Douglas.

Ga. But in all this I ſee a great difficulty; for it wilbe hard for them to land without a partie.

Gr. The Papiſts of England haue offered that, when euer they ſhall ſee a power landed, they wilbe xx^{m} men. But ere it be aſſayed, they looke to ſee confuſion among themſelues, for I ſhall giue you my hand, if the Queene be not taken away yet ere Michelmas. The Popes 20,000.

Sir, the Ambaſſador brought with him 8000$^{\triangle}$, beſides 2000$^{\triangle}$ roleus. That the Secretary hath receaued money, and Kolinknows[1] 1000$^{\triangle}$. His ſuſpicious ſpeach to Leſtrick,[2] that it ſhould not be good aduiſe to the King to ſuffer his people to ſerue, out of his realme, anothers turne. At a ſecond conference he made great difficulty to diſcouer the part of the Queene; but ſaid they were halfe a dozen, nether Italien nor French, but rather Flemiſh, as he thought. Sir, ther names he knowes not, but þat they are already in England to doe the feat reſolutely. There were but ſix that knew their names and perſons, viz. the Queen mother, Duke of Guyſe, Prince of Parma, Paver Parſons, Paver Oland de Corayne, and Corſelles. The French Ambaſſador knew not them, but is only acquainted with the purpoſe, nor the French King; that this Ambaſſador was not ſent by the King, but by the Queene mother and Monſieur de Guiſe. The Erle of Weſtmoreland was at Paris to haue come, but wanted ſiluer. The two men, with G. Douglas, landed at Yearmouth. Remember Barnabys tale of Arran at Stirling: to ſpeak with the Jeſuiſts Holt and Dury, They purpose to outbid the Queen 40 thousand$^{\triangle}$ pensions.

[1] Sir James Hume of Cowdenknowes.

[2] Logan of Restalrig.

or Hey, about the money, and what they vndertooke. The matter of Maxwell was a pollicy of them, but hindred them greatly. They haue ſent for a part of the iij^{m} 800$^{\Delta}$ in depoſit to be ſent hether, and is attended here by the firſt opportunity in Jaques Meluins fregot of Deepe. The Maſters opinion, to continewe diuiſion here amongſt themſelues, muſt be the beſt remedy to conteyne a partie and order quietnes in England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Sir, I finde that both you and I haue beene vnkindlie dealt withall, by the Lord Secretary of that realme, touchinge the reporte that I ſhould aduertiſe him of an informacion receaved from you, that he ſhuld be an enemy to the league. I am ſorrie that the gentleman ſhould deale ſo hardly with me, as either to make me an author of ſuch an vntruth, or els to be ſo evill an inſtrument to breede diſcorde betweene perſons of your qualities. Mr Douglas knoweth howe earneſtly I deſire that the late jealouſies and vnkindnes grown betweene you might, by ſome good mediacion, be accorded, and therefore can beſt cleare me in this behalf. I find both by Mr Randolphe and Mr Milles, howe honourablie and carefullie you ymploye your credite in furtherance of the intended league, as one that forſeeth the publique benefite, that may growe thereby, to both oure Soueraignes and theire kingdomes; which courſe, I doubt not, but you will continue, vntill the league be fyniſhed and performed in ſuch ſorte as, by all honeſt well affected ſubiectes and ſervantes, is deſired. What I haue done, touchinge the levie for the Lowe Countries, you ſhall vnderſtand by Mr Archibald and Mr Tyrie, who are bothe departed hence. And ſo, Sir.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 100, fol. 180. From the original minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 13th April 1586.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

My humble deuty rememberit, as I writ onto your Honour from Berwik, that the reportis that I had herd theyr wer ſo manye and ſo contrarious, that I culd not affirm any of them be lettir, onto ſuch tym as I had bettir exemenit the reportis, and the occaſion moving the reportis thereonto; ſo that I ſaw convenient to ſtay the ſending of the ſayde lettir, onto ſuch tyme as fordur mater mycht occurre.

I arryvit at my Lord Ambaſſadouris lodging in Edinburgh vpoun the xxvij herof at nycht. Vpoun the morrou in the morning, the Maſter of Gray com onto me, and declarit how he had agrit vyth Secretary Maytland, at my deſſire as he alledgit, and that the Secretayr was now reddy to do all that I wuld deſſire him to do, that mycht ſerue for my veilfayr. When, as we wer talking, the ſayde Secretayr ſend onto me the Provoſt of Lyncleuding, declaring that he wes aggryt vyth the Maſter of Gray, bot he culd not tak it in gud part that I had forgottin the grit frendſhipp betwixt his broder and me, and the not making him acquainted vyth my intering in Scotland; as onto him he onderſtode nothing, quhill of layt that he onderſtode I was to be at Bervik, whear he had ſend his kynſman to veſit me; and that the King had declarit onto him, at his going to Falkland, that I was to be in Edinburgh one of theſe two dayis, and had villit him to deſſire me to haif patience at the Ambaſſadours lodging to his returning, which ſhuld be verray ſhortlye, at which tym I ſhuld knau his Maieſties fordur pleaſur. I ſcho him that I reſſevit his Maieſties derection, and his aduis, in gud part. Thaireftir the Maſter openit onto me a longe diſcourſe, the ſtat of the cuntry, and all the particularties, viz. ſuch, as the Ambaſſador, be ſeveral letters, had mayd craving onto your Honour of befor, vyth this addition, that the Secretary his gritnes vyth the Kinge did confes, in this, that he had ſett down certayn plattis onto

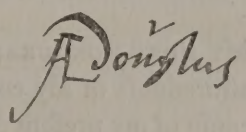
[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 114, fol. 197.

the King, how he mycht preſerve his ſtayt in obedience, and be in eſtimation and credit vyth foryn princis; and becauſe the end of theſe platts caryit vyth thaym certayn protraction of tyme, he thoht it wold be harde to move the Kinge in his contrar, vnto ſuch tyme as he mytht knaw the fynale ſuretes, or than mytht onderſtand ſum vther bettir meanis how he mytht atteyn to the ſam. And as to the particular of the plattis, he culd not parfitly declayr thaym, but he ſchaw me that the Kinge vas werray erneſt to heir me ſpeik of theiſe matteris, and vas aſſurit that he wald oppen thym onto me his ſelf, aftir that he had once ſpokin wyth me. His Maieſty retornit from Falkland this Fryday, and vent to Dalkeyth, whear he ſithyn remains. The Maſter of Gray vas ſend for to come to him. He thocht it ves to conferr vyth him vpoun the maner how I mytht ſpeik vyth his Maieſtie. This is all that they vyll towartis my pryvat ſtate. As towartis my opine in the publick of this realm, I muſt crave that I writ not at larg theyrof, onto ſuch tyme as I haif ſpokin with his Maieſtie, and vtheris gydarris of the Court, that offeris me grit frendſhipp, which I ſhall wythin two or thre dayis after the dayt hereof.

The Maſter of Gray hath, vpon ouerturis mayde to him, that it vas meteſt that he ſhuld deall vyth marchantis that ar in this realme, quhoſe ſubſtance is not verray grit, that he vilbe able to leuvy ten thowſand French crownis, for the raſing and tranſporting of the ſaydis forces, providing that he may knaw quha ſhal pay the ſaydes marchantis, ather at London or Holland. He affirms that he vill haive forces in redines vpon ſex veukis efter that he ſhall reſſeue commandiment for levying of theym. The hole capitains, and one gud part of them ſoddartes, ar ſuch as hath ſervit of before in the Low Country. Bycawis that vyth expeditioun the King may heir ather from her Maieſtie, or from my Lord of Leyſter, for deſiring or craving of ſuch forces as ar neydful, he affirms that he can leavy what nombre you ſhall pleaſe demand, onder ten thowſand, but the nombre that he preſentlye intendis to haife in reddines are thre thouſand footmen, and tuo companyes of horſmen. Of this mater, vythin tuo or thre dayis I think, he ſhall vrite at gretar lenth onto your Honour, which he cannot preſently do, becauſe he is in dealing vyth the King, and to be heir the morrow in the morning. In this midſt tyme I hafe takin the

boldnes to certefy this farre, for anſwering of your Honoris lettre that I reſſavit this xxix of April, onto ſuch as I may moyr certaynly vryt of all matteris, which I think ſhalbe ſhortly: And ſo leaving fordar to trouble your Honor, I humblye take my lefe: ffrom Edinburgh the xxix forſaid.

Your Honoris moſt
humble to command vyl prov it,



To the right honorable Sir Francis
Walſingham Knight, principal
Secretary to her Maieſtie.

After the ending of this lettir, I reſſevit an lettir from the Maſter of Gray, declaring that the King his pleaſure is to ſpeik vith me at his houſe on Monday next.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

The Kinge would rather that hir Maieſtie demaunded the ſeruice of his ſubiects, then himſelfe to offer the ſame, becauſe he hath ſo long deferred the making of the ſaid offer.

Money cannot be had by exchange.

He canne within ſix weekes, or one moneth, preſent 6000 choice men, and well led together: Deſireth haſt to be vſed in the matter, and that the firſt courſe may ſtande, which was reſolued on before Mr Douglas his departure.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 116, fol. 200. This article is titled an 'Abstract' from the original letter, which appears, from an entry on the margin of the manuscript, to have been dated on the 5th May 1586.

The Kinge wilbe very conſtant, after he is once entered into the action.

To aſſure my Lord of Leyceſter that he will bring no leader ouer with him that is not well affected, howſoeuer ſome of them haue bine otherwiſe reported of.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

My most honoured Brother, If theſe few words expreſs unto you the aſſuredneſs of my conſtant affection, they ſhall have performed the cheif cauſe of my preſent ſending unto you. And therein I pray you believe me, for while I live I will not fail you. My Lord[2] is exceedingly deſirous to have your preſence here; but, by reaſon there is not yet ſo full an eſtabliſhed authority as there ſhould, the moiens come in ſo ſlowly, as, in good faith, I know not whether I ſhould wiſh the coming of ſo dear a friend or no. This gentleman, the Conſervator of your nation in Campheer, underſtands the nature of things as well as ourſelves, and therefore he can plainly make you know what the eſtate both is in effect, and yet might be, if the Government were more ſoundly grounded. I have no more to trouble you, but to pray you for my ſake to make much account of this gentleman, for I have found him my very friend: And which is the laſt, or rather the firſt point, hold me, I beſeech you, in the gracious remembrance of your King, whom indeed I love. And ſo I take my leave, and leave you to the bleſſed protectioun of the Almighty.

Your faithful brother to do you ſervice,

P. Sidney.

From the Camp before Numegen, this 17th of May, 1586.

My moſt honoured the Maſter of Grey.

[1] From *Murdin's State Papers*, p. 557.

[2] Earl of Leicester.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

THERE is, ſince the time of Mr Archibald Douglas departure hence, fallen out ſome change in her Maieſties reſolucion, touching the manner howe ſhe will vſe my Lord of Leiceſters ſeruice in the Lowe Countries; whereuppon the matter of your employment vnder him dependeth. For albeit her Maieſtie was then content his Lordſhip ſhould there exerciſe ſuch power and authoritie as the States had there caſt vppon him, bycauſe it appeared to be both for the weale of the countrey and furtherance of her ſeruice, yet hath ſhe nowe, through the practiſe and ſecret workinge of ſome ill inſtruments that favour the Spaniſh proceedings, and ſeeke, by all meanes, to thwarte and diſgrace my Lord of Leiceſter, cleane altered her former purpoſe and diſpoſicion in that behalf. By meanes wherof, my Lord of Leiceſter is conſequentlie forced to change his determinacion for the calling of you into his companie, whereof, I knowe, he would have receaued great comforte, beeing very loathe ſo much as to encourage you to come to that ſeruice, where he cannot yeald you that enterteynement and ſatiffaccion that may be anſwerable to your deſert and liking, and to his owne deſire. For, where before his authoritie reached to the redreſſing of the confuſion in gouerment, and orderly diſpoſing of the contribucions to the vſe of the due paying of the martiall men, which authoritie the Prince of Orange never enioyed in ſuch ample manner, whereof enſued ſo great diſorders and inconveniences in the courſe of their proceedings, by meanes whereof he might haue beene hable to haue provided for you and your company as apperteyneth; nowe that authoritie and comandement ceaſing, whereby the wonted confuſion will growe againe in the gouerment, and the States are likelie to convert the moſt parte of the ſaid contribucions to their owne

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 215. From the original minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 24th May 1586.

private comoditie, as they did before, as his Lordſhip muſt of neceſſitie want meanes to geue you that interteinement that you may in reaſon looke for, which would be both a touche to himſelfe in honour, and (to your owne noe ſmall grief and diſcredite) worke the miſlike towardis you of ſuch gentlemen captains and ſoldiers as ſhould attend vppon you, who, ſeeing themſelues fruſtrate of their expectacions, and reduced, perhaps, to haue termes, would doubtles wiſhe they had never ſeene you; the inconvenience whereof to your ſelf, I doubt not but that you will ſo depely waye in your owne iudgment, as you will rather chooſe to ſuſteyne at the firſt ſome litle toutch, that this breaking of may be to your reputacion, then to put yourſelf in hazzard of a further diſgrace, ſince it doth ſo vntowardly fall out that thinges do not take a better courſe. For, to be playne with you, my Lord of Leiceſter findeth himſelf ſo farr thwarted and diſcomforted in the ſeruice, that he is nowe become an humble ſutor for his revocacion, as you may further perceaue by the copie of his owne letteris, wherewith Mr Randolph ſhall, for your better ſatiſfaccion, make you acquainted, to whoſe reporte I referre you.

I finde by Mr Randolph, the Kinge your Soueraigns diſlike in that neether the ſume promeſed was performed in ſo large meaſure as was looked for, nor the inſtrument of ſecurity ſent in ſuche forme as was to your ſaid Soueraignes liking, was, through your earneſt and careful travaile, qualified in ſuch ſorte, as he was both content to accept the ſume ſent, as alſo that the treatie proceede to his full concluſion. Theiſe good offices done by you to the mutuall benifit of both Crownes, I hope will never be forgotten on our parte. I will not fayle, according to your earneſt deſire, to doe my beſt indevour to procure that ſatiſfaccion may be yealded to the King your ſoueraigne in both theis pointes, whoſe conſtant and princelie manner of dealinge in this cauſe hath wrought a very good conceipt in all goode mens hartes here towardes him, (who before had but a iealous opinion of him). I doe aſſure you that, as there are divers there that miſlike of the proceedings of this treatie, ſo lack there not here men apt to hinder ſo good a work, that haue ſought malitiouſly to revive former conceaued iealouſies of onſound proceedinge here. It will, therefore, behove well affected men, both here and there, to carrie a watch-

ful eie, in preventing the mallice of ſuch malignant ſpirites. And ſo Sir.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO MR RANDOLPHE.[1]

WHEREAS you did, by your letteris, write vnto me that, if th'intended imployment of the Maſter of Gray in the Lowe Countries goe not forward, it will be a great toucheing in credite to him. For my owne parte I aſſure you that none can be more ſorrie for it then my ſelf, as well for the good will I doe particularly beare to the Maſter of Gray, who hath deſerved ſo well, as in reſpect of the cauſe whereof this change proceedeth, which is, in effect, that though her Maieſtie was content, at the time of Mr Douglas his departure, that my Lord of Leiceſter ſhould reteyne ſtill his authoritie and charge of gouernment laid vppon him by the States, in caſe it ſhould appeare that he could not relinquiſhe the ſame without preiudice to the cauſe, and hinderance of her ſeruice, yet hath ſhe ſince taken another courſe of reſolucion, by the practiſe and perſwacions of ſuch as are addicted to Spayne, and vnfriendlie to my Lord of Leiceſter; who, by ſuch meanes, wanting nowe that credite and authoritie that he had to redreſſe the confuſion of gouernment, and diſpoſe of the contribucions for the maintenance of the warre, hath, in reaſon, iuſt cauſe not to drawe a gentleman of the Maſter of Grayes deſert and qualitie to that ſeruice, where he ſhould not be able to yeald him that enterteynment and ſatiffaccion that apperteyneth; which would ſound greatlie to his owne diſhonour, and purchaſe to the Maſter the ill will and harme of as many as he ſhould carry with him, when they ſhould finde them ſelues in miſery and voyd of all comforte. For my Lord findeth him ſelf ſo diſcountenanced, croſſed, and diſgraced in the ſeruice, by the practiſe of ill inſtrumentis, that he is wearie him ſelf of his continuance there, and ſueth earneſtlie to be called home againe. So far is he from

[1] From the original Minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 24th May 1586, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 215.

doing the Maſter of Gray that wrong, as to encourage him to come to him at ſuch an unſeaſonable time, as you may perceave by the copie of his owne letteris, which I ſend you, as well ffor your owne ſatiffaccion, as to th'end you may be the better able to anſwere the Maſter, vnto whom you may alſo ſhewe ſo much of the ſaid copie as you ſhall think good; whereby he may the more plainlie perceave that theis allegacions are true, letting him with all vnderſtand, that howſoever this breaking of may, in ſome ſorte, be a toutch to him in credite and reputacion, having alreadie waded ſo far into the action as he had done, yet he can, in his owne iudgement and diſcrecion, conſider that it were better to break of at the firſt, then to hazzard further diſcredite and inconvenience, when thoſe that ſhall ſerve vnder him may be reduced to ſuch want and extremitie, as they will, perhaps, curſe the time that ever they knewe him, to his owne infinite greife and diſgrace.

Her Maieſtie findeth by the contentes, as well of your letteris as of the Kings owne, that he reſteth not yet fully ſatiffied in two pointes; the one, touching the ſume of the Pencion, and the other for the Inſtrument. For the money, her Maieſtie ſtandeth very harde ſtill to it, and yet my Lord Treaſourer and my ſelf have both dealt very earneſtlie with her in the cauſe, but with ſuch ſucceſſe as we can neether hope nor diſpayre that ſhe will yealde to our adviſe. For th'other pointe, though her Maieſty conceaved that her owne letter would haue ſuffiſed, yet will ſhe not ſtick, as I ſuppoſe, to yeald the King ſatiffaccion of ſome ſuch like inſtrument. For your manner of proceeding, touching the deliuery of the Carres that ſtand charged with the murther of the Lord Ruſſell, and the ſucceſſe you haue had therein, her Maieſtie reſteth very well ſatiffied with all the reſolucions of the perſons of the Comiſſioners, and the time of their meeting with th'other is not yet certen, but I thynke the former choyce of my Lord of Rutland, my Lord Evers, and your ſelf, and the appointment of the firſte of July, will ſtand. I haue moved her Maieſtie, aſwell for the yeomen prickers, and groomes of the leaſe, as for horſes and geldings of the King, but can yet drawe noe reſolucion from her in it, which is as harde to be had, even in theis trifles, as in matters of great importance.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Sir, the malitious oppoſition and practiſe of Mr Archebalds enemies hath made his iuſtificacion the more cleere, for that otherwiſe it would haue bin giuen out, by ſuch as ſtand ill affected towards him, that the Kings fauor wrought by frends had preuailed more in furtherance of his iuſtificacion, then his owne innocencie. And yet the world ſeeth that he muſt confeſſe, that, if he had not had ſoe honorable and conſtant a frend as your ſelfe, the mallice of his enemies might haue preuayled ſoe farforth as to haue oppreſſed his innocencie; and for that I doe profeſſe my ſelfe to be one, (in reſpect of the loue I beare him), that is intereſſed in his fortune, I cannot but moſt hartely thanke you for your good frendſhippe ſhewed vnto him, in a caſe þat ſoe greatly imported him, whome, I doubt not, but you ſhall find towards you a moſt conſtant and thankefull gentleman, as well for the ſame, as ſondry other fauors ſhewed vnto him. Touching your imployment in the Lowe Countries, though the Earle of Leyſter hath of late by his letteris revyued ſome newe hope in you, I can noe wayes encourage you therevnto, for the reſpectis conteyned in my laſt letteris, and yet you ſhall doe well to gratefie the Earle ſoe farre forth as to ſend vnto him the troopes by him deſired, if the King your Soueraigne ſhall vnderhand permitt the ſame. And as for yourſelfe, if you will giue me leaue to be ſoe curious with you in your owne particuler, I could aduiſe you to ſpend the reſt of the ſomer in thoſe countries in priuat ſort, in company of Sir Phillip Siddney, who, I knowe, will vſe you as his owne brother, beſides the experience that you ſhall gett, (which will be farre greater then if you were tied to a publike charge). You ſhall, before you enter into any charge, firſt acquaint yourſelfe with the ſtate of thoſe countries, the manner of the ſeruice, the diſpoſition of the people, the entertainement and vſage of ſuch as ſerue vnder them, the

[1] From the original Minute, dated 4th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128.

meanes that they haue for the continuance of the warres, and laſtly, what wilbe our reſolucion here, for the mayntenance of the Earles authoritie in ſuch abſolute ſorte as was yealded vnto him by the Stats, whervpon cheefly dependeth the good or bad ſucceſſe of the cauſe; for, without the continuance of the ſaid authoritie, the former confuſion takeing place þat was there before, his repaire hether will worke their vtter ouerthrowe. I haue, according to your requeſt, recomended Captaine Hagerſton, both vnto the Earle and to Sir Phillip Sidney, and I doubt not, (notwithſtanding former informacions giuen againſt him), þat he ſhall receiue all honorable vſage at their hands for your ſake. Sorie I am to vnderſtand by you, that the late baniſht Noblemen of that realme doe carrie them ſelues ſoe weakely ſince their returne, as to ſuffer them ſelues to be abuſed by thoſe who haue fought their ruine. Surely, Sir, the Kings diſpenſacion with Arrens departure will reuiue ſome vnneceſſarie iealouſies here. I could wiſh therefore he would ether of himſelfe, or were aduiſed by others, to take ſome ſuch courſe herein as might miniſter noe cauſe of ſcandall. At the Court.

MEMORIAL CONCERNING A TREATY WITH SCOTLAND.[1]

SCOTIA, JUNII 1586.

Memorial for Scotland.

THAT her Maieſtie ſubſcribe the articles of the League to be ſent vnto the King.

IN this point I miſtruſt þe Secretary wilbe curious, and take aduantage to cauell.

THAT her Maieſtie ſatiſfie him touching the inſtrument for the aſſurance of the pencion yerely hereafter, title, &c.

[1] Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128. From the circumstance of the hand-writing in the two columns being different, it is probable that this is the original Memorial. The first column appears to be the answers for Queen Elizabeth to the proposals in behalf of King James.

See his remembrances ſent by me to your Honour. Her Maieſties promiſe being 20,000l Engliſh, it wilbe dangerous to ſend leſſe, ſpecially for the firſt time, ſeing the euill affected minds about the King, and that ſoe much is expected.

That for this firſt time the whole yeres pencion may be ſent at once, as the Kings ſelfe deſireth.

That I may cary þe certaine reſolucion hereof with me.

That her Maieſtie name her Comiſſioners, appoint the time and place of meeting out of hand, as the King deſireth for many cauſes. That the like may be there alſo appointed of equall degree and qualities.

Her Maieſties letters of her owne hand	To the King.
	To the Maſter of Gray.
	To the Lord Hamilton.

The Lord Threaſurers letter to þe Maſter.

Your Honors letteris of your owne hand	To the Maſter of Gray.
	To the Secretary.
	To Barnaby M^c^Golegan.

Vpon the aſſurance of theſe 2 men depends all her Maieſties partie in Scotland and the continuance of the league; but aboue all men looſe not þe Maſter.

That ſpeciall regard be had of the Maſter of Gray and Lord Hamilton, the Secretary, Robert Cunningham, and Coldingknowes, with others, as Farret, Coluin, &c.

Bycauſe of the extreme charges he is at, his want to hold it long out, and his own infirmities of body.

That againſt the time of the Commiſſioners meeting, Mr Randolph may haue leaue to retire to Barwicke, and there attend their coming, and her Maieſties further pleaſure.

The cheefeſt point of all. Laſtly, to aduiſe vpon the deliuery of the mony, what way is to be taken for þe aſſurance of the King, and ſuche about him as may hold him at her Maieſties deuotion.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPHE.[1]

Sir, Wheras in the Articles of the Treaty ſubſcribed by their Maieſties, it is ſpecially ordred in the 9th article therof, that the Princes ſhall ſend their Commiſſioners, within 6 moneths after the ratificacion of the League, to here and determine of ſuch iniuries and controuerſies as haue growne on the Borders ſince this Kings gouerment; bycauſe it is intended that the ſame ſhall now be done at this meeting of Commiſſioners, in reducing of thoſe articles into the forme of other treaties, that 9th article is purpoſely left out and omitted, as needleſſe and impertinent to be inſerted into the League. And to the end there may be noe obſtacle or hinderance in the ſeruice, by reaſon of any defect in the Commiſſion of ether ſide, I ſend you herin incloſed the coppie of her Maieſties Commiſſion, which I wiſh you ſhould ſhewe, that they there may be furniſhed with the like from þat King, and that they may accompliſh the contentis of the 9th article preſently; ſoe that theſe extraordinary cauſes being compounded, the ordinary courſe of iuſtice may proceed, by the frequent meeting of the Wardens of each Borders, to the reciproque comfort of the ſubjects of both Realmes. And to the end the Commiſſioners may not ſpend long time in this treaty, to their owne chargis and the chargis of the princes from whome they are ſent, it hath bein thought meete þat the Treaty ſhould be reduced into ſome forme, and deliuered vnto the Earle of Ruttland and the Lord Eure, wherof I ſend you a coppie, which you may communicate, if you ſhall ſoe think good, vnto the Secretary there; which, conteyning the true ſubſtance of the articles, it is conceiued here, that they will not diſlike of; but if they ſhould diſlike of, it were good that you and I,

[1] From a copy, dated 5th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128.

before the meeting, by our mutual letteris ſhould conſider therof, and take ſome courſe for the remouing of the difficulties. From the Court.

This laſt night, ſondry of the Bells, Carelells, Kirkpatricks, and other Scottiſhmen, to the nomber of 100 perſons or aboue, haue come into England, burnt vpon the water of Eſke to the nomber of 80 houſes (as I am informed), taken away about a 100 head of nolte, and 40 nags, with a greate bootie of inſight and other goods from her Maieſties ſubiects in England, thus burned by them.

Poſtſcript—Three dayes after, viz. the viijth of June, was the letter written for the addition to be made in the preface of the Treaty, and the ixth article thereof.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

Vpon the receipt of your Honours laſt letteris, I am nowe in dealing with the Maſter of Gray to reduce his unquiet ſtate, through involving of himſelf in exceſſive chardges and trouble of minde, to compaſſe with his honour this intended voyage to the Lowe Countries, to ſome more quiet ſtay, by moving of him to be contented to remayne at home with his frends about the King, and in his accuſtomed credite. But trulie, if her Maieſtie, or ſome other, ſhall not conſider of his loſſe receaving by entertayning of captaines, and levying of ſoldiers, wherof ſome nomber hath receaved money, I thinck he ſhalbe vtterly vndone.

Yf it ſhall ſtand with her Maieſties pleaſure, that he ſhould accept a comiſſion vppon him, ioyned with myſelf, who is like to be deſtinate to doe the ceremony for obſeruing of this league, I thinck it ſhould doe him greate good many wayes, hereuppon, I pray you, let me have your Honours oppinion with as great ſpeede as you ſhall thinck meete.[2]

[1] This is an extract from a letter of the 9th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art. 138, fol. 226.

[2] Randolphe, the English Ambassador, also writes (5th August 1586): 'Touchynge the Master of Grays aboade here, and staye of his jornaye, I have dealte with hym so ernestlie as I maye. Kerr, this gentleman, is sente agayne from him. Your Honour shall receave

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THOMAS RANDOLPHE.[1]

I PERCEAUE the Queen and my Lord of Leſtors deſireſt I ſhould continue my choiſe for the leuie of men for Flanders. I am as willing as at any time before, but, as I wrote to your Lordſhip, of late I ſhould ſee the matter tend to ſuch delay, that, before God, I was altogether deſperate of it, and began with the King an other courſe; ſo þat if now I ſhould ſlide in where I was, except it proceed from ſome other, he ſhall thinke it in mee a note of inconſtancie. Therefore, I pray you, that her Maieſtie will doe that curteſie for me, to craue it of the Kinge, and I ſhall be ready with all expedition, for I deſire the purpoſe for many reſpects. From Dunfermling.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[2]

PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, Since my laſt vnto you, it hath pleaſed his Maieſty, my ſoueraigne, who was in the partes of Fife at my arrivall to Edinburgh, to appoint the Maſter of Gray his lodging there for admiſſion of me to his preſence, which was vppon the ffowerth of May, where the Nobilitie, and ſuch of the Councell as was preſent, receaved the bannkett. Before the King came in the houſe, the Secretarie had ſome conference with me in a private chamber, where he affirmed the Lordes vnderſtood

his owne answer. The gentleman is greatly perplexed; his charges have byne greate; he hathe borrowede greate soumes of monye; divers compaynies of soldiers all reddie, and the drume daylye soundinge to leavie greate numbers, and hathe the Kings lycens vnder the greate seale; all which I have seen and hearde, but leave yt vnto your Honour to iudge therof as yow thynke good, not willinge, I am sure, to drive so good a frend and servant to that inconvenient that he shall foreuer loos bothe honour and credit, and foreuer lyve with shame.' Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art 196.

[1] From a copy, bearing date 19th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 235.

[2] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 119, fol. 203.

I was lodged to their greif, ffor that they were not made acquainted with my returne in Scotland, but that the ſame was done only by the King; and, therefore, they ſuſpected that I had ſome ſecret courſe with him that might tend to their hurte. I aſſured him I meant no harme to no Scotteſhman; but my coming home tended to this end, that I might be diſburdened of the heavy ſclander wherewith I had beane charged; and for this effect I would ſeeke both his Lordſhip and their favourable aſſiſtance when any occacion ſhould be offred. After ſome propoſe of complement, he prayed that their might be playne dealing betwixt him and me, vppon knowledge therof he would aſſure me of his friendſhip in all matters that might touche me. I promiſed honeſt and playne dealing, ſo as he would aſſure me of the like. When as we were ſpeaking, aduertiſement was made that the King was coming, and comaunded that noe man ſhould remayne in the chamber. After whoſe entrey ſome ſpeeches beeing vttered by me, in comendacions of his humanitie, that ſo far had humbled him ſelf as to come where one of the meaneſt of his ſubiectes was priſoner, I deliuered hir Maieſties lettre, which beeing read, he vttered theis or the like ſpeaches:—'At your departure I was your enemie, and nowe, at your returning, I am and ſhall be your frend. You are not ignorant what the lawes of the realme are, and what beſt may agree with my honour to be done for your ſuretie. I muſt confeſſe her Maieſties requeſt in your favours to be honourable and favourable, and your deſire to haue triall by aſſeſe to be honeſt; and I my ſelf doe beleeue that you are innocent of my Fathers murther, excepte in foreknowledge and concealing: a fault ſo comon in theis daies, that noe man of any dealing could miſknowe, and yet ſo perillous to be revealed, in reſpect of all the actors of that tragedie, that noe man, without extreme danger, could vtter any ſpeache therof, bycauſe they did ſee it, and could not amend it. And therefore, I will impute vnto you, neither foreknowledge, neither concealinge, and deſire that you may aduiſe with my Secretarie what way may be moſt agreeable to my honour and your ſuretie in triall, and it ſhalbe performed.' After that I had giuen thankes vnto his Maieſtie, I could not forbeare to let his Highnes vnderſtand that it did appeare to me, that whatſoeuer it ſhould be done in my favour were beſt to be

done at her Maieſties requeſt; to the which he yealded. Thereafter he ſaid to me, 'You haue nowe beene long in England, and hath, as I am informed, knowne her Maieſties meaning towardis the title that I pretend to that crowne, when it ſhall pleaſe God to leaue that place vacant, and in like manner doth vnderſtand the diſpoſition of the mindes of her Highnes Councell therein, I deſire you freelie deliuer vnto me what inclination you finde in them to my welfare in this matter.'

My anſwere was, that it was very true that I had bene long in England, and therefore neceſſary it would be for me, if I ſhould trulie anſwere to his Maieſties queſtion, to make diviſion of the time of my abode, and to let his Maieſtie vnderſtand what opinion was had at every ſeaſon or time that mutacion in gouerment had occurred in his owne realme, which was euer conceaved in opinion according to the nature or qualitie of the mutacion that happned to fall out. It pleaſed his Maieſtie to vſe ſome interrupcion ere he heard any further, and ſaid, 'I knowe what you meane; you would lett me vnderſtand that I am burdened and ſlandered for other men their dealinges. When matters ſhalbe well determined, my meaning ſhalbe, at all times, founde to be conſtant and friendlie towardis her Maieſtie. And of this parte I can take your ſelf to record what hath beene my inward minde towardis her Maieſtie, ever ſince that time I directed the Maſter of Gray towardes her Highnes, who hath ſince his returning at all times aſſured vnto me that I was mett with the like good minde, and if that be true, you are able to lett me vnderſtand it.' I anſwered, that I well vnderſtood that the Maſter of Gray had done the dutie of a truſtie ſervant, and had done many good offices there, ſpeciallie in removing of many doubtes that had receaved deepe impreſſions, aſwell in her Maieſties minde, as in the mindes of the beſt ſorte of that realme; which doubtes were growing vpon ſome ill proceedinges and wrong informacion geven out to his Highnes deſadvantage: who were the reporters I knowe not, but the reportes were geven out in all partes. He ſaid, he did well vnderſtand that he was calumniated by ſeditious men that he had made deſſertion in religion; that he was blood thirſty; that he was inconſtant in friendſhip, and vntrue in keeping of promeſe. But he tooke God to his witnes, how vntruly he was ſlandered in theſe pointes, by his indeſcreete

preachers and unnaturall ſubiects, that he beleeved noe prince would allowe of, and ſpeciallie her Maieſtie beeing a prince ſubiect to the like ſlander her ſelf, if ſhe ſhould permitt unbridled ſubiects to ſpeake their pleaſure of their naturall Prince. My anſwere was, that her Maieſtie was not a little greeved to hear, that any ſubiect durſt preſume to ſpeake any matter of their prince, and often times had been moved beſides modeſty in geving comande, that inſolency in ſpeaking againſt whatſoeuer prince ſhould be reſtreyned; but ſpeciallie had geven direction that noe imodeſt mineſter ſhould be tollerated to preach, leſte they might haue uſed ſome vndecent ſpeach, which ſhe would haue noe wiſe left unpuniſhed, if it had beene againſte his Maieſtie. But of late all matters was reduced in ſuch ſtate, that might concerne his Maieſtie in that realme, that noe man durſt vtter any ſuch ſpeach as heretofore had beene ſpoken of. And if any ſhould be ſo fooliſhe, they would not fayle without delay to receaue puniſhment; and great expectacion was had thereof of late, that he would not alter the courſe he had begunne, neether exceed the boundes of reaſon, for any man his pleaſure. After ſome ſpeach of my Lord Treaſourer and your Honour, in aſking of your opinions of himſelf, and that I had fullie ſatiffied him thereagenſt, he entred in ſome ſpeache of the late Chauncelor, and of Colonell Stewart, alleadging him to be a ſimple bodie, (ſo he termed him), and was ready to departe out of this realme, and the other was alreadie departed, either to Ireland or ſome other place; ſo that he had left nothing vndone that had beene craved of him, excepting againſt ſome certen rebellious Engliſhmen, that had beene heretofore required, and the ſatiffaccion of her Highnes in honour, towardis the murther, which he with all his heart lamented, of Sir Frances Ruſſell, againſt the Jeſuiſtes, ſo he did terme the rebells; as God ſhould be his Judge, he knewe not preſentlie where they were, but he would expell them his realme, and would make certificacion to all ſuch as had kept them, if they were found to be in the realme, he would deliver them. And to ſuch as were ſuſpected of that lamentable murther, he would leave nothing vndone that might ſatiffie her Maieſtie, ſo that the ſame might not bring him in diſgrace of his ſubjects, which he beleeved her Maieſtie noe wiſe deſired; and if any contravenors of his intencion ſhould be found within his realme,

he was minded to invade them, and would ere nowe have performed the ſame, yf his owne realme had beene reduced to a quiet ſtate; which he ſhould ſhortlye ſee performed, if her Maieſtie would aſſiſt him. I did anſwere, that I firmelie beleeved her Maieſtie would leaue nothing vndone that could be required in friendſhip, providing that he made her acquainted with his proceedinges, and founded his deſire vppon reaſon. Beſides this, I thought her Maieſtie would be offended, if ſhe ſhould not be made acquainted that he ſtood in neede of any her aſſiſtance for the weale of his realme. It pleaſed his Maieſtie to anſwere, That he had made noe creature acquainted with his meaning in that matter, but he ſpake it vnto me by way of diſcourſe, which ſome day he thought to performe, to giue teſtimony of his good meaning. Finding him in ſo good termes, I ſaid that there was divers of his frendes that mervayled, he beeing a Prince of ſo great expectacion, and in the age wherein courage was accuſtomable knowen rather by action than by ſpeaking, that he made not offer to her Maieſtie of ſending his ſubiects in the Lowe Countrie, and thought alſo that it was not decent for his age to be idle, whenas her Maieſtie and remanent Princes were in armes. Vppon this he entred in a long diſcourſe, that I perceaved had beene putt into his head, of the difference betwixt offending and defending. To which both he confeſſed him ſelf to be bound in divers degrees, and to offend alone ſuch as would offend her Maieſties perſon or ſtate; and for his owne parte, albeit he had divers times enquired if her Maieſtie did eſteeme the King of Spayne her enemye, he never could receaue directe anſwere there vppon; and notwithſtanding therof, if he could be aſſured her Maieſtie would eſteeme that worthy of thankes, he would make offer of forces, in proporcion leſſe or more, as he ſhould knowe to be expedient for the ſervice, and would excuſe himſelf that he had ſo long delayed the doing therof. This is the ſome of all matters that had paſſed by his Maieſtie at that time, when as the Maſter of Gray came to the chamber, and ſhowed the King that the Lordes were inquiring for what was become of him, thereafter the King ſaid to me, ‘ I can tarrie me no longer at this tyme; of this farre aſſure your ſelf, that I will doe all that may ſerue to your contentment for your private ſurety, and within fewe dais will ſpeeke further with you. In this mean

time, you may aſſure ſuch of your frendes as are in England of the ſynceritie of my meaninge, and of the performance of ſuch matter as heretofore I haue promiſed to her Maieſties Ambaſſadour.'

Ymediately after the King was retiret, Secretarie Maitland returned where I was, and ſaid, he knewe the King was put to great expectacion that I would ſatiffy his minde in diuers matters he remayned doubtful. For his owne parte, he would be moſt glad that I might ſo doe, but beleeued, by reaſon the time was ſo ſhorte that I was with the King, that there did remayne ſomewhat more to be ſpoken vnto his Maieſtie, which he would be glad to vnderſtand, and would endeavour him ſelf to do all the good offices he could, both in my private ſtate, and in any matter that might tend to the welfare of both the Crownes. After the geving of thankes, I ſhewed him that I had nothing wherein to deale with the King, untill ſuch time as I had receaued my triall, and for the obteyning therof I prayed his frendſhip. He made anſwere, that he could be frend for him ſelf; but he beleeved that the Lordes, that was of late come out of England, had conceaued ſome ſuſpicion of my coming home, which movid them to think that I had ſome dealing with the King that might be to their preiudice. I anſwered, that my preſente ſtate was ſuch that I could not goe out thence, neether openly abroade, untill ſuch tyme I had receaued my triall, that my frendes might accompanie me where they were, at which time I could ſateffy their Lordſhips in all reſpectes; in the mean time, I would moue ſome frendes be dealt with for removing that errour—of that nomber I prayed his Lordſhip might be one. Then after he entred in a large diſcourſe of the King his proceedinge, that had ſo vnaduiſedlie gone forwardis in the ſubſcribing of this League, wherein noe reciprocall dealinge had beene vſed, (ſo he termed it), as might appeare by certen notes, in forme of Articles, that he had deliuered to her Maieſties Ambaſſador, and that the King had proceeded ſo far in his abſence, and without the aduiſe of his Nobilitie, that would noe wiſe agree to ſuch kinde of dealing; and for his own parte, he could not in conſcience forbeare to geue his Maiſter his beſt adviſe, aſwell howe to repayre that matter as to abſtayne to goe forward, if the inſtrument promiſed ſhould be refuſed to be geven, (ſo they terme that

lettre which was geven to the Ambaſſador). I anſwered, that his Lordſhip, beeinge wiſe, might well conſider that ſuch kinde of dealing might procure hatred vnto him, ſpecially of her Maieſtie, if he ſhould aſſay to take back that which was already concluded. Beſides, in the litle ſpeache that I had with his Maieſtie, it did appeare to me that he had wholly dedicated him ſelf to be at her Maieſties devocion; and if any ſhould aſſay to diverte him therefrom, iuſt occaſion of ill dealinge would be conceaued againſt them by himſelf, that might produce very hard effectes; and I thought it was very perrillous for his ſtate to enter in that courſe. His anſwere was, if the King and his Nobilitie did well agree, (as he beleeved they ſhould), there was no danger for him in that matter. Thereafter he confeſſed to me, that he was entred in league or bonde with that parte of the Nobilitie that were comme home of late; as to the remanent, they would thank him and aſſiſt him; and as for the bond, there was nothing conteyned therein but that they ioyned them ſelves for the advauncement of the King his ſeruice; and therefore he was the more curious if I had any dealing, or was minded to deale, with the King, for drawing of him to the Quenes Maieſtie of England her devocion, without their aduiſe or privitie. Towardes my owne parte, I fully ſatiffied him in that pointe, and did give ſufficient reaſons that there was noe ſuch meaninge, either in her Maieſtie, or any of her councellors. Albeit bothe reſon and the veritie it ſelfe might haue led him to haue beleeved my ſpeache, yet my rethorique was not ſo ſufficient as to fully ſatiffy him in this pointe. The reaſons that movid him in the contrary were, that he vnderſtood no nobleman in Scotland was dealt with [at] all in this matter of the League, except the King onlie; albeit in the power geven to him mencion was made, that the ſame ſhould be concluded by the aduiſe of ſuch of his Councell as he ſhould think meeteſt to make choice of. Beſides that, it was not the cuſtome (as he alleaged) of this realme, that the Nobilitie would giue their conſent in any matter of ſo great weight where they had not beene dealt with before, and therefore he thought that none of the Nobilitie, at leaſt very fewe of them, would yeald their conſent; and if þat were not done, he thought the King with time might be moved to conſider of his ſudden proceadure, which he

thought might ſome daye be reputed an error. He proponded diuers other argumentes, ſome of them *longe petita*. To all theis I anſwered, that I could not be perſuaded that this courſe which he did propone could any whitt agree with their owne ſuretie, which, of neceſſitie, behoved to depend from her Maieſties credite with the King, which, if they would hinder the courſe of frendſhip betwixt the Princes, they ſhould in like manner cutt of their owne ſeurtie: Beſides, I feared, if her Maieſtie ſhould be informed of any parte of their meaning, it would move her Maieſtie to conſent to goe furder with the Kinge in private frendſhipp then might well agree or ſtand with their welfare: Therefore, ſince ſoundes of frendſhip were knitt vpp amongſt them, I prayed him adviſedlie to proceede for his and their ſuretie, which I thought could noe wiſe ſubſiſt but by frendſhip betwixt thes twoo princes, whereby it was neceſſarie that the King ſhould be bound by all meanes to the obſerving of quietnes; and the more ſtraightlie that he ſhould finde himſelf obliged to her Maieſtie, the greater would be their ſuretie. This ſpeach (as appeareth) rather did move him then ſatiffie him. And this was the ſomme of all that did paſſe amongſt vs, the particulers whereof I am conſtreyned to lay open vnto your Honour, (albeit I ſhall thereby haue noe better reputacion then to diſcourſe as William Erle), to the end your Honour may better iudge vppon the preſent ſtate then I [am] able to declare any ſound opinion, which, notwithſtanding, I will not forbeare, (according to my preſent knowledge), to ſett downe vnto your Honour, ſo far as I can either learne or vnderſtand by ſpeaking with the King.

There is not in all his realme anie gentleman, of whatſoeuer eſtate, more at her Maieſties devocion then the King him ſelf, and ſo would continue by all appareance, if he ſhalbe ſuffred to goe forwardes with his owne inclination and love towardes her Maieſtie. On the other parte, it may be well vnderſtood by confederacies and other proceedinges, amongſt ſuch as are aſſociate, that their meaning is to alter his minde, and to bring him to another courſe; if not at this preſent, with time they minde to performe it, (as by divers plottes which ſome of them hath propounded vnto the King will appeare.) The ſome whereof her Maieſties Ambaſſador, (who can verie ſufficientlie diſchardge that office), will more largelie make

to your Honor knowne, as alſo of the proper remedies that he hath vſed, and will vſe, for remedying of ſuch inconveniencies as otherwiſe might ſuddenly fall out.

So to conclude this vnformall lettre, I am conſtreyned to lay open before your Honour the vnquiet ſtate of the Maſter of Gray, who having founded his deſire to doe her Maieſtie ſervice, vppon this argument, that the King his maeſter could never be made ſure to her Maieſtie, and that realme, (ſpeceallie having conſideracion to thoſe that were about him), vnles he ſhould be inworked by action in any thing that might concerne her Maieſtie, or be to the benefitt of her ſtate, and conclude that I would crave to be ymployed for the leading of men in the Lowe Country. To which his deſire, the Secretary and thoſe aſſociates did oppone themſelves, whereuppon noe ſmall emulation hath growen amongſt them, which is not removed through any outward agreeance, but rather daylie increaſeth in ſuch ſorte as ſuch men as love him fares noe better for his cauſe. And albeit the King ſaid vnto my ſelf, that he would make offer of his people to ſerve in that country, and make excuſe that he had beene ſo long in doing thereof; yet the partie adverſe hath ſince that time ſo altered his minde, that he now ſayeth he can not permitt any to goe in that iourney, vnles the Quenes Maieſtie ſhall declare vnto him that the King of Spayne is her enemy. And the Secretary hath ſaid to my ſelf, that the merchants of Scotland, that nowe finde ſome benefite by traffique in Spayne, and noe favour in England, hath made ſute to the King þat he ſhould not, without great cauſe, looſe the favour of that countrey. In the mean time, that the Maſter hath remayned in hope to be ymployed in that ſeruice. So many colonells, captaynes that hath ſervice in the warres before, gentlemen and knightes of good calling, have adioyned them ſelves vnto him in hope to goe in that ſeruice, that his ordinary nomber of that kinde of people is very greate, and daily doe increaſe. The names of moſt parte of them, pleaſe your Honour receave, with private note vppon ſome of them. Through their awayting vppon him, his charges dayly is vnſupportable for him to beare out. And that which is worſe, he knoweth not howe to bee ridd of them with favour, vnles he ſhall ſatiffy their expectacion by imploying of them. Beſides this, it doth appeare that if he ſhall not be imployed, his

credite with his maſter the King, by meanes of his enemies, ſhalbe ſhaken, and by conſequence be vnable to doe her Maieſtie ſeruice, according to his intendid meaninge. Pitty it were a perſonage ſo well devoted to her Maieſties ſeruice, and of ſo good deſerving, ſhould be in danger to periſhe. I will pray your Honour to conſider hereof, and to move my Lord Treaſourer, (vppon whoſe iudgement he affirmeth to depend), to ſend him your beſt adviſes what ſhall bee meeteſt for him to doe in this matter that toucheth him ſo neere. The names of the colonels, that your Honour may perceaue to be marked, haue beene noted with ſome ſuſpitious ſeruice, and doubtful, and yet they doe affirme that they are able to cleare them ſelves. Twoo of them ſpeciallie, Halkerſton and Panton, are of highe humours, tending rather to too much then too little, ſpeciallie Panton, that inclines ſomewhat towardes mutiny. I haue had ſome ſpeache with them all, but moſt ſpeciallie with Colonell Boyde, who appeareth to bee of good nature. I haue had conference with him vppon his ſeruice that hath beene paſſed, wherein I thought he might be touched greatlie in honeſty; and vnles he might make him to be knowne honeſt in that matter, I gaue him counſell that he ſhould not offer him ſelf in the preſente ſervice. He anſwered, that he was well able to make his honeſtie to appeare, and would not fayle for performing thereof, to goe in that countrey, albeit it ſhould be without chardge, with one harguebuſhe on his ſhoulders for trying thereof. In the end it was concluded, that if ſo ſhould be your pleaſure, he would come to your ſelf in England, and make his whole cauſe knowen to your Honour, and would in preſent manner let you vnderſtand, that he would be well able to performe ſome ſecrete ſervice that might put his honeſtie and reputacion to be voyd of all queſtion. It may pleaſe your Honour to let me vnderſtand yf you reſt ſatiſfied with his cominge to your Honour. He mindeth to departe from thence to the Lowe Countrey, for performing of the ſervice wherewith he ſhall make your Honour acquainted. I haue beene theſe dayes paſt weried with the receauing of welcome from my frendis, that I could not get leaſure to write of any graver matter. Moſt humbly I craue your Honours favour that this lettre may make my excuſe to my ſinguler good Lord, my Lord Treaſourer, whoſe honour I mind to trouble with ill writing, when

occaſion ſhall be offred, of a more graver ſubiect. And ſo, craving pardon for my boldnes to trouble you with ſo long a letter, I humbly take my leaue. ffrom my Lord Ambaſſadors lodging, at Edinburgh, this ſixte of May, [1586].

Your Honours moſte humblie to
command with fervice,

A. Douglas

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

I RECEAVED a letter of yours of the date of the xvjth hereof, and haue ſeene another to the Maſter of Gray, wherevppon he craues my aduiſe towardes this mocion, made of late, of his iourney towardes my Lord of Leiceſter.

Truly, Sir, the gentleman doth not a little marvayle, howe it hath fallen oute, that he was firſte animated to the ſaid voyage, then diſcharged, after noe ſmall loſſe of expenſes beſtowed, as well for his particular preparacion, as for the enterteynement of diuers that would haue gone with him in companie; beſides, in reſpect of this diſcharge, he hath beene conſtreyned to take a newe courſe with him ſelf for his private affayres, by ſettling his fortune with his Maiſter, and enterteyning of his former credite in his companie.

In reſpect of theis promiſſes, he prayeth me to conſider with my ſelf, howe vnſeemelie it would be to haue to deale with the King, vppon the ſuddain, in the contrary, in a matter where vnto he had not only yeilded of before, but by meanes procured all thoſe matters. He is conſtrayned to think vppon, by reaſon of the mutacion that worldlie matters are ſubiect vnto, and to imagine thence this deliberacion may alter, as others haue

[1] From a copy bearing date 23d June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 237.

done, and by conſequence indanger his credite and whole reputacion, beſides the loſſe of his goodes and fortune that he hath alreadie ſuſteyned, which are more then his ſtate can beare; wherein I can be a witnes by my ſelf, that hath neither left nor ſhall leaue any thing vndone, that may aduance either your Lordſhips deſire, on his ſaid voyage or welfare. But what counſell is to be geuen in theis matters, hardlie can I tell, alwaies this farre we haue concluded to pray your Honor be aſſured that the ſame mind to doe her Maieſtie ſeruice, and to the ſaid Erle all the ſeruice and good offices he can deviſe, doth as yet remayne in his minde as before; but neither the meanes, neither the libertie of him ſelf, are ſo great as before they were to performe that matter, which he with ſo good will would accompliſh. The neareſt way how theis matters may be helped, he thinkes, wilbe that either her Maieſtie or the ſaid Erle may be movid to write to his ſaid Soueraigne, that he may be perſwaded to geue comand to him to goe forward in the ſaid iourney; to this effect he did pray me to accompanie a letter to your Honour, which I could not refuſe.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

I HAUE noe further to write preſentlie, excepte that which I haue alreadie certified to my Lord Ambaſſadour, who will make your Honour acquainted therewith.

I ſend you herewithall this, with incloſed copie of a letter to the Maſter of Gray from my Lord the Erle of Leiceſter. By letteris from the ſaid Maſter, your Honor will vnderſtand of what intention he doth remayne towardes this voyage to the Lowe Countrey, and what impedimentes appeareth neceſſary to be removed. I am of that opinion, if her Maieſtie cannot be movid to write the King for the furthering of that iourney, neether that the Erle his lette can come hither with ſpeede required in this matter, that it ſhalbe well done that the Ambaſſadour be inſtructed to

[1] From a copy dated 27th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 241.

deale in this matter with the King, who hath, I aſſure you, conceaved a very good opinion of him.

His Maieſtie is preſentlie here at Dunfermling with the ſaid Maſter, and to remayne for the ſpace of vij daies after the date hereof. Our Secretarie hath alſo beene heere to moue his Maieſtie in ſome matters tending to delay of his League, and for ſtreight going forward in theis matters of Border; but hath not prevailed. The French Ambaſſadour hath beene at Courte ſince the arrival of this meſſenger from that realme. His chiefeſt errand was to ſolicit, that noe man ſhould goe out of this realme to the Kinge of Navarre; and to ſhow the King of his maſter his good ſucceſſe in buſenes at home, he doth conſtantlie affirme that the Erle of Leiceſter is ſick; whereof I haue thought good to make your Honour aduertiſed. Comonly ſuch proceedinge brutes from that careles notion of mens lives accompanied with ill effectes; at leaſt experience may teach men that, in times paſſed, ſuch brutes hath not reſen vnto ſuch time as the intencion of the enemy was well founded. It hath pleaſed him alſo to ſpeake his pleaſure of me to the King. But I beleeve the graunting of libertie to ſuch men to come hither, by permiſſion, ſhall breede more harme to the comon cauſe, then againſt me in particular. And ſo, Sir.

From Dumfermling.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

I AM commandit by his Maieſtie to vryt to you a feu lines, and, before God, if euer I haid credite at your hands, I muſt now imploy it for his Maieſtie. In ſome difficulties þat occuris in this meiting of the Comiſſioners for the League, but cheifly in the nint article, vitche hes, as appeiris, proceedit from your ſelf, for if ye haid lattan it be in the forme it ves firſte ſet doun, noe contrauenſion haid ryſin of it: Bot now the dif-

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. fol. 245.

ference is in the tym, vitche the King deſyris to be from his Coronation, and it is ſet doun in the ſubſcriuit League only from the acceptation of the Gouernment in his auin hand. The cauſe of this comes by reaſon the King is informit, þat the ſkaithes dune to England of lait yeiris ar ſo gryt, þat he and his ſubiects are not aible to repay them, vithout they be recompenſit by ſume dune of befor by England to his realme and ſubiects. Bot þis is a maiter that requyris a long diſputation, and hardly can be deſydit at þis tym. Thairfor, according to your deſyr in a pairt, the Kings Maieſtie craueis þat the nynt article be omittit in the League; and forder, þat the reaſoning of it be continuit, ether to the meiting of the Lieutenantis for bothe the realmes, or than til ſutche tym as expreſly Commiſſioners be deput for þat effect; vitche is, in þe ſelf, verie veichtie. Sir, lat it be dune, I pray you, for, befor God, the Kings Maieſties honourable and princely dealing at þis tym meritis more þan þat he craues, for he hes ſhauin him ſelf ſo veil affectit at this tym, þat many of his auin ſubiects accomptis him a better Engliſh man than Scotiſe man. Thairfor, I pray you oneis agene, that he be accordingly delt vitheall, ſeing the maiter contrauentit is of no gryt importance, and ſutche a maiter as I am aſſurit the Queins Maieſtie vil neuer mak a queſtion in vith his Maieſtie. The only regret is, þat the Noble menis ſtay at the meiting by it ſhall be ſome quhat long, bot þe remed is the ſoner to heaſt anſuer. And I pray you lat it be, for you ſhall find many heir quho ſeikis no better occaſion than this to caſt all thingis afe. Mr Myllis can tell you quhou nobly and fracly the King ſpak þis day in this maiter: ſo in that I remit me to him.

Yeſterday I reſaueit from my Lord of Leiceſter dyuers letters, bot all tending to one effect, deſyring þat he may ſpeik vith me in Veſt Holland; bot all ver befor Captaine Hakerſtouns arryuell thair, ſo þat nou I think he hes chaingit deliberation. Bot vpon vord from him, I ſhall leaue no thing vndune þat I can, albeit in deid it lyis not in my hand to do ſo mutche as of befor, for the reaſonis conteinit in my former letteris. Bot the remedys ar to you knowin, and yit I ſhall repet them ſhortly: firſt, in reſpect þat it pleaſis þe King nou to giue me þis ſame place I haid of before, I can not leaue him, bot by his auin command. Secondly, ſeing I fruſtrat bothe my ſelf, and all þe gentlemen and captaines my ſodiouers,

to our gryt chairgis, it ſhall be a thing not poſſible to harnaſs them the ſecond tym vith out a gryt certaintie, for they ſe all vorldly courſis ſubiect to chaingeis. Than, ether the Quenis Maieſtie, or my Lord, or bothe, muſt craue it of the King, and preſent moyens muſt be ſend for þe ſatiſfaction of the gentlemen. Bot I remit þis to your ſelf and all vther particularities to Mr Archibald Douglas, quho, I hoype, ſhalbe ſchortly vithe you, ſend by his Maieſtie in maiters of importance to the Queins Maieſtie. The King lykis verie veil of him. If my Lord of Leiceſter hes any forder to deall vithe him, yt ſhalbe veil dune he ſend it to your Honour, for he vil be at you vithin tuentie dayis, and hes to ſatiſfie my Lord from his Soueraine verie amply. The gryt heaſt ſhall mak me conclud in commiting you to Godis holy protection: From Dumfermeling, þis laſt of Junij, 1586.

Your loving frend to be commaundit,

Mr of Gray

To the Ryght Honorable Sir Francis
Walsinghame, principal Secreatary
to the Queens Maieſtie of England,
and one of the Counſall thair.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO MR RANDOLPHE.[1]

Sir, I haue movid her Maieſtie to write her letteris to the King for the imployment of the Maſter of Gray in the Lowe Countries. But ſhe findeth his abode in that realme more neceſſarie, ffor that ſhe hath of

[1] From the original Minute in Walsingham's hand, 22d July 1586, Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. fol. 277.

late receaved ſecrete aduertiſementes out of France, that the French Ambaſſadour there with you hath geuen great aſſurance vnto the Queen Mother of greate matters to be there wrought and brought to paſſe, by the Lord Claude and his partie. For the diſcouery of the bottome of which practiſe, ſhe would haue you deale both with the Maſter of Gray and Mr Archibald Douglas, that they vſe ſome extraordinary care therein, and yet would ſhe haue the matter handled with all the ſecrecie that is poſſible. Thus much was I willed to write to you with ſpeede, and therewith to ſend you her Maieſties letter to the King, for your revocacion. I pray you let my haſte of writinge excuſe me to the Maſter of Gray and Mr Douglas in not writing to them. And ſo, Sir.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

Please your Honour, before the receaving of yours bearing date þe xxijnd of this inſtant, I was minded to haue written unto you a diſcourſe of the ſtate of this country, from the doing whereof I did abſteyne during the abode of my Lord Ambaſſadour, ſpecialie bycauſe I ſawe his Honour inclined to deale only with the King, my ſoveraigne, as beeing both reaſonable and that way inſtructed, whereof I did beſt like; albeit in veritie the preſent ſtate of his realme, through diverſitie of factions in religion, and profeſſion in minde obedient to ſundrie authorities, did otherwiſe require. In this matter I have been ſome parte curious of late, and have diſcovered divers matters to be miſliked of. A parte of them I made your Honour acquainted with before, and therewithall ſhewed my opinion that the danger appeared not to be greate, unles ſome matter of force ſhould come from foreine partes, that might alter the preſente ſtate. By that letter I declared from what ground the ill did proceede, and the remedies that did appeare moſt proper to reduce in the ſtate of this coun-

[1] From a copy in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 193, fol. 279, where the date is given 30th July 1586.

trey to ſome more aſſured quietneſs. To this letter it was not your Honours pleaſure to give any ſpeciall anſwere. In reſpect whereof, and for diſcharge of my dutie and promiſe to her Maieſtie, my Lord Treaſourer, and to yourſelf, I haue accepted a charge from my Sovereigne, to be directed towards her Maieſtie, with matters of no ſmall importance. And that be all apparent might helpe theſe matters, being well vſed, at the beſt, my dutie in all reſpectes may appeare thereby to be diſcharged, I am not ignorant of the dealing that men are traveling into in this realme, but as yet I cannot perceave that they are like to take effecte, ſhortlie at the leaſt. For this ſome ſtates the force ſhall come from forrayne partes. And if the worſt ſhould fall out before October, I cannot finde a better remedie to helpe that matter, then that the Maſter of Gray ſhould be making his forces and preparations readie towards the Lowe Countrey, while that ſeaſon was paſſed. As for my owne parte, if I were not to farre gone forwards in this my intended iourney, taken on vppon mine owne charges, that I cannot goe back without declaracion of ſome miſliking towardes my Soveraigne, and that my ſtaying might breede divers waies harme to the good effectes that my iourney appeared to produce, I could be contented to remayne at home, and therebye avoyde the envie of ſuch as hath imployed theire whole credite to procure my abidinge. But yet I cannot perceive, that in the end either the Maſter of Grayes, or my abidinge, or moe with us, can be able to ſtay the intended projectes, vnleſs matters be more deepelie founded, and the diſeaſe cured from the grounde, either by medicamentes lenitive or courofive. I muſt leave further of this matter to ſome other letter, or to my owne cominge. As towardes this iourney intended by the ſaid Maſter of Gray, I finde him therein ſo implacable ſince the receipt of this letter for ſtaying thereof, that I can not tell what way to deale with him theranent. He alleadgeth that his charges beſtowed for the advancement thereof is ſo exceſſive, that if his whole heritage were ſold, the price would not pay his debtes. And that, beſides that loſſe of goodes, he thinketh himſelf ſo farre intereſted in honour, by contramandements and deſire to goe forward, that he cannot live in reputacion in this realme, but muſt needes departe from thence to forrayne countries. Hereof he would impute a parte of the

blame unto me. I knowe his neceſſity of late was ſo greate, that, when he was minded to ſettle his abode at home, ix hundred lib Sterling, for the which I became bound, was not able to cover his neceſſitie. What is to be done in this matter, I pray your Honour may be declared to Captayne Hackerſton his ſervant, ſent to know your Honours pleaſure what ſhall become of him, and who knowes what charges he hath been of late.

The particularities of theſe intended proiectes would be long to write, but this farre may appeare, that the generall tends to this end that Proteſtant and Papiſt factions for King and Queene ſhould all agree in one to drawe the King to their appetite; and, I will aſſure you, contrarie to his owned will or minde, as by this private dealing partlie may appeare. Our Secretarie hath ſo dealt with the Carres, that were minded to enter into England, for ſatiffaction of her Maieſties honour anent the murther of Sir Francis Ruſſell, that, by interpoſed perſons, he hath made them to believe howe innocent ſoever they be, they wilbe ill uſed if they ſhall enter in that realme. Such terrour they have receaved by his meanes that they are become fugitive and denounced rebelles. The King hath deſired of the Ambaſſadour, that they ſhall receave no favour in England, and hath promiſed that he ſhall cauſe theire houſes be poſſeſſed by others, and all other rigour and extremitie vſed againſt them. Albeit his meaning is herein very good, yet, in reſpect of thoſe proiectes, I muſt needes doubte of the performance. This matter is of noe ſmall weight. They are the chiefeſt men of that name, and the principall of that frontier. In reſpect whereof, I haue, ſince the departure of the Ambaſſadour, obteyned commiſſion of the King to deale with them, and have ſo farre travayled that, vppon my worde, they are contented to enter at Carliſle, wher I ſhalbe to convey them thither. I thinck it ſhalbe well done to write to my Lord Scroope for their ſafe receaving and keeping, till ſuch time as her Maieſties further pleaſure ſhalbe knowen herein. Yf it might be your Honours pleaſure, I would be glad to vnderſtand the intended determinacion againſt them; ffor ſorrie I would be, through deſire to doe good, to procure harme againſt myſelf or frendes. What hath beene my dealing therein Thomas Milles can declare.

In the end, I muſt conclude this informall letter in theis termes: If any matter ſhall fall out in this countrey that may be preiudiciall to that realme, the irreſolucion of that State cannot be without blame, that will not put remedie to matters when as they may be helped. And notwithſtanding thereof, this farre your Honour may be aſſured of, that noe thing ſhalbe left vndone here that may helpe matters in the beſt forme we can. Glad I would be to knowe yf this late intelligence hath any appearance to be dangerous in ſhort time.

I can perceaue noe further by the Lord of Fyntrey then that which I wrote before. He is preſentelie in this towne, in dealing for a mariage with Secretary Lethington his daughter.

I am affrayed that Mr Johne Colvill his covetouſnes to be in credite ſhalbe noe goode. Of one thing I muſt putt you in remembrance, that you are like to looſe the Maſter of Glamis for lack of writing vnto him. I was ever of that opinion that it was neceſſary to keepe all men in good expectacion. And ſo, &c.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS LOVING FRIEND, MR ARCHBALD DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FROM THE KING'S MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDS THE QUENE OF ENGLAND.[1]

Sir, Becaus I am ſhortly to ſend Roger with his Maieſties letters to you, I will not write at lenthe. Ye do evil that taxis the Secretary with any maiter by letter to his Majeſtie: for ſic dealing, of neceſſitie, muſt neidis have good men and veilvillars to comment on, or than evil villars makis evil conſtructions. His Majeſtie by Roger is to vryte to the Q. congratulatorie, to my Lord Leiceſter, and Sir Francis, I beleiue to the Theſaurer, ſo he has promiſſit to me. As for the firſt pairt, tutching the conſpiracie, I cannot now vryte at lenthe, bot differris it til I ſend Roger; yit this far I advertis you, that the King is veil villit in all thingis as ye left him, and verie glaid of the decoverie of this maiter. Bot his opinion

[1] From Murdin's State Papers, p. 568.

is that it cannot ſtand with his honour, that he be a conſentir to tak his Mother's lyf, bot he is content how ſtrictly ſhe be keipit, and all hir auld knaifiſh ſervantis heingit, cheifly thay who be in handis. For this you muſt deal verie varly to eſchen [eſcheu] inconvenientis, ſeeing neceſſitie of all honeſt menis affairs requyris that ſhe var out of the vay. I committis you to God.

Your affectionat Friend,

P. Master of Gray.

From Dumf. this 8th of
September 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

. . . . . .

there verrie honeſt gentleman. Bot as by my laſt I muſt pray you, upon my obligation to be comptable to th'Erle of Leiceſter and Eſtaitis, I may haue of her Maieſtie 2000 or fyftein hunder pound,[2] and if any thing be ſuperplus, it ſhall come to þe pay-breif, it ſhall debat ſo mutche to me, and þe holl troupes, if I giue a cleir compt. I am aſſurit no Almaine vould haue liſtit four thouſand foot men vithe ane hundrethe hors, for fyftie thouſand crounes, and my nombre is litle les, and better grilniſhing[3] ſhalbe of no country. I pray you, Sir, yf you forder this and ſend me vord vith diligence, for if I ſal ſell my land, or my jowels, it vilbe thocht I am not vyſe, and ſome litle diſcredit it ſhalbe to hir Maieſtie; and, befor God, if it be not ſend from thence, I muſt do it, for I vil giue liberally to gentlemen, and tym ſeruis not þat I can ſend for it now to my Lord of Leiceſter. I remit me than to you and hir Maieſties favor-

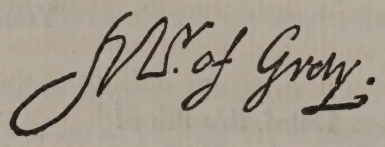
[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 213, fol. 317. This article is imperfect, the first sheet of the original being wanting.

[2] '1586, August. A warrant for £2000 delivered to Master of Gray of Scotland, to levy certayn footmen in Scotland for the Lowe Countryes.'—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 785.

[3] Sic in manuscript.

able dealing towardis me; aſchuir you it ſhall neuer come in my handis. Sir, I haue vrittin to his Maieſties Ambaſſadour of ane aduertiſement I hard yiſter nicht. I pray you inquire it of him, for it is not impertinent. The Eternall be vithe you for euer. From Dumfermling þis 9th of Sept. 1586.

Yours as his auin to be comandit,



Sir, for the bettir impreſſion, I leaue laſt to recommend vnto you þis bearer, to you veil knowin. It ſhalbe verie vil dun, and I pray you þat ye favour him in his ſute, for he may doe great good in my abſence; for aſſur you noe man gettis ſouner knowledge of thingis than he, and is not ſurer to aduertis. The King in lyke maner vil think veil of it þat he be veil vſit. I aſſur my ſelf than that ye vil do for him.

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis
Walſinghame, principall Secretary to
the Quenes Maieſtie of England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Sir, the Queenes Maieſtie beeing made acquainted with the contents of your laſt letteris of the xxxth of Auguſte, and ſecond of this preſent, directed vnto me, doth think her ſelf greatlie beholden vnto you, for the care you ſeeme to haue to further any thing that you may iudge to be for the benefite and aduancement of her ſeruice: which geuing her iuſt cauſe to haue like care of the ſafetie of that realme, and of your own good and

[1] This and the following article are from the original minutes in Walsingham's handwriting, dated 14th Sept. 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 208, fol. 311, 312.

well doing in particular, ſhe hath willed me to lett you underſtand, that ſhe findeth it inconvenient you ſhould ſend over into the Lowe Countries any greater nomber of ſoldiers than thoſe that are alreadie tranſported: wherein her iudgement is grounded vppon theis two conſiderations; ffirſt, that ſome ſturres or alteracions beeing likelie to happen in that realme, as may be coniectured by the claimes made by the Lord Maxwell, ſome parte of theis troopes, which in likelihoode doe conſiſt of your friends, ſeruantes and dependantes, were fitteſt to be reteyned at home, for the better ſtrength and defence of the realme and your owne ſafety; and next, bycauſe ſhe vnderſtandeth from my Lord of Leiceſter, that the States doe not keepe promiſe in the due anſwering of ſuch contribucions as they haue offred, whereby her Maieſtie doubteth that the greater nomber you carry, the worſe you ſhall be paied, which ſhe ſhould be verie ſorrie ſhould ſo fall out.

Touching the Captens named in your letter that ſerved at Bruges, for whoſe imployment you deſyre to knowe my opinion, though the gentlemen, in the yealding vp of the towne, were conſtreyned by reaſon and neceſſitie to doe as they did, yet, bycauſe the people of the countrey are by nature ſubiect to iealouſie and ſuſpicion, and not eaſilie movid from any conceipt or apprehencion that they once take of thingis, in the diſcourſe of their owne reaſon, I doubte me, therefore, it would rather doe harme than good, that you ſhould haue them about you. I may nott alſo omitte to lett you vnderſtand, as one very deſirous that the proteſted, and nowe ſo well ſettled, amitie and frendſhipp betweene our twoo Soveraignes ſhould remayne and continue in thoſe good termes that it ſtandeth at this preſent, for their owne honor, ſafetie, and the weale of their ſubiectes, which maketh me the more careful to foreſee and prevent ſuch inconveniences as may breede any hinderance and interupcion of the ſame, that there are diuers brutes geuen out, aſwell in France as here in England, of an intended matche betweene the Duke of Lennox and the Lord Hamiltons daughter; which ſound as though the ill affected, both here and in Scotland, did conceave ſome hope that the ſaid match would bring forth ſome effectes, whereof might enſue a newe alteracion in that ſtate, and alſo a breach of that ſtraight amitie betweene their Maieſties. So, as

I feare, leſt the opinion of ſuch an alteracion to followe by meanes of the ſaid matche, may miniſter matter and occaſion of ſuch miſlike as was here conceavid of the alteracion in St Andrewes; and therevppon I haue thought fitt to forewarne you thereof, to th'end that you may for your parte perſwade the King, your ſoueraigne, not to giue his conſent to the going forward of the ſaid matche, vntill he hath made her Maieſtie acquainted with all, according to his owne promiſe made vnto her, that he would depend vppon her aduiſe and councell in matters of great importance, of which kinde this ſeemeth to be one.[1] And ſo, Sir. Windſore.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

Sir, I thank you for ſounding the Kings diſpoſition, howe he could be content to haue the Queen his mother proceeded againſt for the late facte. But I ſuppoſe it will be in vayne to move him any further in it, bycauſe he may conceave it would be againſte *bonos mores*, in reſpect of the bond of nature betweene them, that he ſhould make him ſelf a partie againſte her; neuertheleſs you may with good reaſon perſwade him, that he make no mediacion for her, or oppoſe him ſelf againſt the courſe that is intended to be heald with her, conſidering the hard meaſure that his Father receaved at her handes; for which deteſtable facte ſhe was deprived of her crowne. It is meant that ſhe ſhall be tried here according to the acte made in the laſt Parliament, and that, agreeablie to the contents of the ſaid acte, certen Noble men ſhalbe appointed to chardge her, who aſſemble for that purpoſe the xxvjth of this moneth, and ſhalbe with her by the fourth of the next at Fodringay Caſtle in Northampton ſhire, ſeaven miles from Stamford, whether ſhe is appointed to be brought. But the matters whereof ſhe is guiltie are alreadie ſo playne and manifeſt, (beeing alſo confeſſed by her twoo Secretaries), as it is thought, they ſhall

[1] See Courcelles' Negotiations in Scotland, p. 5. Edin. 1828. 4to. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.

require noe long debating. We ſuppoſe ſhe will appeale and challenge the priviledge of her ſoveraigntie, which, in this caſe, neither by the Civile lawes, nor by the lawes of this realme, can be avayleable.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE AND LOVING FRIEND, MY LORD EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND TOWARDIS THE QUENE OF ENGLAND.[1]

My Lord, I reſaveit your letter this 28th, daitit the 21. His Majeſtie is verie veil content vith all your proceidings, bot cheifly tutching his boukis and hunting horſes.[2] I pray you negotiat ſo veil that ye fael not to effectuat ſubſtantially that point. As for his Mother, his command is you do as he gave your nephew Richard inſtruction. I can aſſhur you he is content the law go fordvart, her life being ſave, and would glaidly viſche that all foraine Princeſs ſhould know how evil ſhe had uſit hirſelf towardis the Q. Majeſtie thair, and that ſhe reſaveis favour through her clemencie. I commit your L. to God

Your L. as is awin,

Master of Gray.

From Falkland this 29th of
September 1586.

[1] From Murdin's State Papers, p. 569.

[2] Queen Elizabeth seems, as a matter of policy, to have humoured King James in his favourite pastime of hunting, by sending him horses, huntsmen, &c. Randolphe thus writes (5th August 1586) to Mr Archibald Douglas:—'I have sent the Kynge two hunting men, verie good and skillful, with one footman, that can hoop, hollow and crye, that all the trees in Fawkland will quake for fear. Pray the Kynge's Majestie to be mercifull to the poor bucks; but let him spare and look well to himself.'—*Murdin*, p. 558.

SIR HENRY WODDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAME.[1]

THE vjth of this inſtant there came to this towne 140 ſoldiers, that were ſhipt by the Maſter of Gray forthe of Scotland into Flanders, who were taken vpon the coaſt of Flanders by thoſe of Dunkirke, all ſpoiled, the captaine and lieutenant carried away, and certaine of them ſlaine to the nombre of 20, who cutt downe theire maine maſt, bougheſtd[2] there ſhippe with greate ordnance, and tooke away their pomp, and left them without ether ſaile or anker on the maine ſea; who landed about Bambroughe, and coming hether, hauing nothinge left them, I defrayed their chargis here, and gaue them ſome money to carry them home. Berwick.

TO MR SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.[3]

MY GOOD LORD. To the effect your Lordſhip may know my meanes and intention, not onlye to ſerve for making your Lordſhip acquaynted and preſence of ſoch forayne courſes and plottes, as may be eyther prejudiciall to the King my maſters advancement, or yet to the ſtanding and continuance of her Maieſties moſt noble eſtate of England, I thought expedient to make your Lordſhip advertiſed by this preſent, þat immediately after my Lordes return to Scotland, I was preſſed to travell with the Maſter of Gray, Sir James Steward, ſometime Erle of Arane, (who continues ſtill in the Kinges favor and good grace), þat matters being taken upp betwene them, and a ſure contract and band of perpetuall frendſhipp ſubſcribed by them both, he might frelye reſort to his Maſters preſence, and

[1] From a copy dated 7 Nov. 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 240, fol. 440.

[2] Sic in manuscript.

[3] HARLEIAN MSS. No. 290, fol. 170. This letter has no date, but it evidently refers to matters prior to Nov. 1586; and appears to have been written from Scotland by some secret favorer of England. In some places the manuscript is illegible.

ſo that by his perſuaſion the Kinge might bothe more eaſilye be moved to embraſe the French courſe, and preſent armes againſt England, unleſſe þat he have his Mother ſett at lybertye. For, ſuppoſe the Quenes Maieſtie of England wold, at the Kinges deſire, forgiue this his Mothers offence, it will nowght be ſufficient at this time, onleſſe ſhe will putt her at libertye; for we ſuppoſe þat ye dare not effectuate any thing agaynſt our Quenes life, in reſpect of theſe accidents þat are fallen owt, ſo farre by your expectation, in the Low Contryes; ſo þat ye are only purpoſed to kepe her, and to diſpone your ſelves to peace and quietneſſe with Spayne and France by her redeliverye, when ye ſhalbe putt to it. And ſoch was the diſcourſe of our Embaſſadors to the King our maſter. There is no ſmall jelowſye betwene the Secretarye and the Maſter of Gray; for the one preſſeth to have regreſſe to his former creditt to his owne perſon, ſo þat the departure of the Embaſſador into France is delayed till the incomming of the Engliſh Embaſſadour. Emulation makes the Maſter the more willing to deale with James Steward, by whoſe meanes the other may be debaſed; which, if it take effect, will be the only meanes to draw the Kinges maieſty from England, and therefore I thowght good to hold the Maſter of taking any ſodayne reſolution in this matter, till your Lordſhips advertiſement, and ſhall hinder or furder the ſame as your wiſedome ſhall thinke nedefull. I have not yet had leaſure to communicate with the Jeſuites, but I am advertiſed that they are to offer any what ſomme of monye to his Maieſty by . . . . . ſuſpect perſon, to puſh him forward in the ſuing for his Mothers libertye. Alwayes within few dayes I ſhall make your Lordſhip preſence of weyghtier maiters, as they ſhall fall forth.

There is a great contention betwixt the King and the Miniſtrye for praying for his Maieſties Mother; but now they are content to pray for her conditionallye. It may be your Lordſhip receave a packett of Monſieur Courcelles letters at the French embaſſador Chauneuf. I have delt ſo with them bothe as to be able by my moyen, to make theyr ſecret letters to . . . to your Lordſhip ha . . . . . I deſire, (as yow wold wiſhe matters to continue,) that yow governe this matter with all kinde

of crafte and ſecrecye, for ſo may it redound to your Lordſhips creditt, and advancement of the cawſe. I ſpake with Mr Archibald, towching theſe poynts, at length in this turne before my awaycoming, with whome it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to adviſe. As towching my ſelfe, your Lordſhip ſhall finde no lacke of conſtancye and ſecrett dealing on my parte. I will loke for the like in your Lordſhip, and ſoch other frendſhipp as I have hard your Lordſhip to be moſt liberall of to them to whome your Lordſhip beares good will unto, and no otherwiſe then I ſhall deſerue at yowr Lordſhips handes.

The Maſter of Gray is to ſend George Gray, his page, ſhortlye into France; alwayes at the next advertiſement I ſhall make your Lordſhip advertiſed in particular of that he ganges for, with ſoch other thinges as ſhalbe more to your contentement. So abiding your advertiſement, etc.

To Mr Secretary Walſingham.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE FREND MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, AMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.[1]

My Lord, This bearer is directit, according as ye and he deſyrit, in the beſt *Subt.* that for the preſent occurrit, as ye ſhall underſtand by himſelf. I had vrottin by him a long letter at his Majeſties command, but I am contremandit til we heir from you. Yet I ſhall ſommerly ſet ſomething doun, but keip it from all men. This letter would only have been vrottin by me, and directit to your Lordſhips ſelf, bot to the end ye ſhould divulgat it through that Court. Becaus the King beginneth to think that he hes done more for the Queene thair, and that country, than he hes re-

[1] From Murdin's State Papers, p. 571, where it is printed from the original.

ſavit any great appearance of good meining, he villit you and me to made [make] it manifeſt, that through the apparent ſubject that men had heir, cheifly ſic as are about him evil affectid, to ſpeik, he ſhould at lenthe be moveit to run ſome other courſe: In few wordis, this ves all the ſomme of the long letter. And by God, I am of the opinion, if franker meining and dealing both be not uſit towardis him, he ſhall do this in effect: Bot till ye ſhall reſeve advertiſement ye ſhall reveil this to no man. I find his Majeſtie in conſcience as yit ryt faſt, and he vill be lothe to tak evil impreſſions; bot ye know quhat tyme doeth vork in all kind of ſubjects, and cheifly in the myndis of Princes. I vould not vryt this plainly in my laſt, becauſe it ves ſent only by pacquet vithout a ſure berar. All men drives at him, firſt for his Mother, nixt for the maiter of his Title; for they think be the firſt to move him, for the diſhonour it ville be to him; nixt for his title, becaus be that they think his Majeſtie ſhall ſee vhither thay mein evil or veil towardis him: Bot of this ye ſhall know forder by my nixt. You ſhall ſee that the Guiſarchis and his Mothers friendis ſhall tak occaſion upon theis motives to deal, both directly and indirectly, vithe his Majeſtie. And for my pairt, I have takin this reſolution to ſerve his Majeſtie faithfully and firſt: And if I ſee England to mein veil, I aſſhur [you] I ſhall remaine conſtant that vay; if not, I mynd to follow no courſe partially, bot to het and love according to my Maſters mynd. This, in few vordis, is my reſolution. As for my negotiation in his title to that Crown, aſſhur you I mynd never to crave it, or any dealing in it; bot if I cannot eſcheu, I vill do quhat ever my Maiſter commandis me, without reſpect. My Lord Leiceſter has ſent at dyverſe tymes a offre of the proprieté of the Low Countryis to the Kingis Majeſtie, and now of late, and craves ane anſwer. It is a thing, if the King micht have it by the Queenis adviſe thair, not to be refuſit; bot except he obtain hir good vill, and not only hir good vill, bot ſhe prays him to tak it, that he vil not accept it. The King longis greitly to heir from you, cheifly tuitching his Mother; thairfor ſpair not the firſt occaſion, I pray you. Let me feil frankly, without any kynd of ſcruple, quhat your opinion is anent his ſute for his Title; for that is the maiter appeirently that ether ſhall do men great good or extreim evil; becauſe now the King beginneth to apprehend that maiter verie

fare. This is all I can vryte to you for the preſent in matters of Eſtait. I commit your Lordſhip to God.

Your Lordſhips as his awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From the Holyrudhouſe,
this 10th of November, 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS LOVING AND HONOURABLE FRIEND, MR ARCH. DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDIS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.[1]

SIR, I reſaveit your letter, and am ſorry to perſave thingis fall furthe as thay do. All the evil affectit to the good quyettneſs betweene the realmes ſtudiis now to tak occaſion to divert his Majeſtie, and not only to divert him, but to animat him, as you may perſave by this earneſt dealing; and I pray you, befor I enter into any forder diſcours, that ye be a verie great dealer for hir, for no uther vay is there to content the King. He apprehends the maiter ſo vehemently, and has commandit me to vryte to you, that ye deal directly in that maiter, for he ſays he vil not diſſimull in it himſelf. Now to let you know quhat order his Majeſtie has takin upon ſicht of your laſt letters and Villam Keythis, firſt, he has vrottin to you vithe his awin hand a few lynes, as ye ſhall reſave, the reſt he has remittit to me. Becaus that he ſent Villam Keythe away in a haſte, and that both his opinion and yours was, that ſome nobleman ſhould be ſend thair, his Majeſtie is fully reſolvit to ſend a Nobleman and two of his Counſell. As yet ſkairſly can he reſolve vhom to ſend, but he has dealt with the Earle Bothwell, and vith myſelf verie urgently. The Earle, if moyen be found, vil accept it. For my ſelf, I have as yet refuſid; bot becaus the

[1] From MURDIN's State Papers, p. 573, where it is printed from the original.

King tuk it evil, I have takin me til advyſe; ſo having advyſit, I have laid the good and evil of both the pairtis ſo far as I can, and judge ye of them. Refuſe I, the King ſhall think I know already quhat ſhall come of thingis; ſo that if ſhe die, he ſhall not feal to quarrell me for it. Leive ſhe, I ſhall haue double harme. Refuſe I not, but interpryſe the voyage, if ſhe die, men ſhall think I have lent her a hand, ſo that I ſhall leive under that ſlander; and leive ſhe be my travail, I bring a ſtaff to my awin head, or at the leaſt ſhall have little thanks. Yit if I cannot eſcheu, rather or I ſuſtein the Kings vrathe, I mynd to accept the commiſſion; and if ſhe die, the uther two ſhall bear vitneſs I have done my deutie. Seeing this maiter comeis one this—I would fain the Queen and hir Counſell would devyſe ſome middis, for, by God, the maiter is hard to you and me bothe. For as I vrot to you by my laſt, the King thinks ye micht have done more in that maiter. So far to content him, firſt, vryt your ample purgation; nixt deal freely, come of it quhat ſo may, and I hope it ſhall turn to your veil. I have vrottin heir a letter to the Queens Majeſtie, quhereof I ſend a copie. To be plain with you, it was the Kings mynd I ſhould do ſo, to the end ſhe ſhould not tak my coming in evil pairt, in caſe I come. And I proteſt before God, I undertak that voyage for to ſee what good I can do, to mak ſome middis, becaus I ſee the King wholly myndit to run a uther courſe, if violence be uſit, which I know ſhall be my vrak, being ſo far imbarkit that vay that ſkairſly can I retire myſelf. And for your ſelf, it is true, ye have thair moyens, bot keip your compt, if his Majeſtie ſteir a uther courſe, you ſhall die a baniſit man. Ye know how mortell all Princes are, ſo it is good to remember of home; and this is my ground I keip, for that I ſee men, and chiefly your enemies and myn both, to be biſie at this occaſion to divert his Majeſtie from his preſent courſe, knowing thairby to herme us both. I mynd to interpryſe the voyage rather than to refuſe, to the end I may ſee if ſome good middis may be takin for the Queens ſuretie of that realme, and all honeſt manis, and for the contentment of this Prince our Soveraine. In this mid tyme, I pray you, ſeeing you may ſee it to be veil for your ſelf, that before my coming, you deal quickly in it, and dally not. I vill be thus plainly with you: ſee I no middis, bot that all ſhall brak

between this Princes, I vil ſeik the longeſt lyf, and follow my Maſter directly and ſincerely. Bot firſt, or I caſt myſelf in that hazard, I will exhonor myſelf of my deutie in eſſeying if ſome good moyen may be found to the contentment of the Princes, to the veil of both realmes, and for intertaining the maiter now profeſſit, which in my opinion ſhall be dreſſit by a capitulation, and to the Queen of Englands contentment. I pray you do quhat you can to mak maiters abyde our coming. I have bein heir verie plaine, and plainer than reaſon vould, in reſpect of the vay I ſend them. As for any bruitis or reportis maid of you unto me, ye ſhall know them all at meiting; and if I meit not with you, the Laird of Reſtabris [Reſtalrig?] ſhall be at you, who ſhall ſhau you them. In the mid tyme, tak no opinion or apprehenſions, for affhur you ye ſhall do me great wrong befor I truſt it, and my eiſe and underſtanding ſhall be my informers. If I vould have left you, I had better occaſion than now, and has for your cauſe ſufficient over many manis evil villis, vithout reaſon, to truſt. Bot all this to meiting, or Reſtabriſſes coming to you. I pray you oneis agene, ſeeing ſo far this maiter is lyk to tutche me, if the King change courſe, that ye deal for ſome good middis before I come, and vith the firſt commoditie feal not to ſend me your opinion, for ye have myn freely, as God is my vitneſs. I pray you, as I vrot of before, to gaine that young man Villam Keythe, for he may do good, and I perſaue he vrytis reaſonably veil of you, at the leaſt to me, and to the King himſelf; yit the King hes a vehement ſuſpition, which ſatiffie, I pray you, in your next. Ye ſhall find great comfort at my coming, or yit at Reſtabriſſes coming. Deal, I pray you, both by yourſelf, and aſſiſt Villam Keythe, for a continuation of any execution agenſt the Kingis Mother. I think it not impertinent ye deal freely in this maiter with the Queen and Mr Secretary, and alſo with my Lord Theſaurer, and let them know the verie ſimple veritie, for in my judgment thay love to be in friendſhip vith the King. I commit you to God.

Yours as your awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

This 27th of November, 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THOMAS TYRIE.[1]

THOMAS TYRIE, I réceavit your letter, bot, for by it I underſtand ye are not now in England, I forbeare to make any anſweare till it; only I ſend youe theiſe few lynes to let youe know quhat reſolucion þe King hes taken anent þe Queen his Mother, uppon ſyght of William Keythis letteris, which he hes don in great ſuddenty. Reſpecting þe weightines of þe cauſe, he hathe only at this tyme written to William Keyth, to ſee if he can protract tyme for a ſhort ſpace, to the end ſome honorable Ambaſſade be ſent to þe Queen of England, for þe effect aforeſaid. To þe which Ambaſſade, he preaſſed my ſelf, but, at the furſt, I refuſed, which his Majeſty took in no good part, ſo þat now I have condeſcended, alwayes condicionally, þat tuo of the Queenis eſpeciall frends accompany me. For I was ever in feare, if her lyfe had been tane, þat men ſhould have thought me an eſpeciall occaſion of it, and that made me chuſe the Earle Bothwell and Sir William [Robert] Melvill, who favors her. And I proteſt, before God and þe World both, they ſhall ſee me do my duty honeſtly.[2] If the Earle Bothwell be as ready as Sir William [Robert] and I, we ſhall be gon within eight daies. Therefore faile not, but ye meet me at London ſo ſoon as is poſſible to youe, and bring with youe any thing þat youe know propre for me, ſo farre as your money extendis; but all black, as feathers, hatt, and ſilk ſhanks, &c.

[1] From a copy, HARLEIAN MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 290, fol. 169. There is no date to this letter, but it must have been written towards the end of Nov. 1586.

[2] Bothwell was, however, excluded from the embassy, "by the drifte, it was thought, of the Master of Grayes and Archebalde Douglase knowinge the said Earle to be prompt and free of speech, and affectionate to the Queene of Scottis, and such a one as would not, yf he discovered any of the trecheries, which moste suspected by him, conceale it."—*Courcelles' Negotiations in Scotland*, p. 22.

INSTRUCTIONS BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY AND SIR ROBERT MELVILL, AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND.[1]

INSTRUCTIONS to our truſtie Couſin and Counſellour, Patrick Maiſtĕr of Gray, Comendatour of Dumfermling, and Sir Robert Meluill of Murdocarnie, Knight, our Treauſurer deputye, our Ambaſſadors directed by us, with adviſe of our Eſtate, to our deareſt ſiſter and couſin the Queene of England. From Holyrudhous, the xvijth December, 1586.

HEE ſhall in our name ſignifye to our deareſt ſiſter, the Queene of England, that we mervell not a little of the late propoſterous and ſtrange proceedings againſt the Queen, our deareſt Mother, who, beeing a Souveraigne princes, and in all degrees of the beſt blood in Europe, hes beene by ſubjects judged, ay in life and tytle;—a dangerouſe preſident for all princes, and without any approved example in any age or kingdome, and ſo contrarious to our honor, and hardly could any thing have fallen out ſo prejudicial thereunto.

Wee doubt not but our ſayd deareſt ſiſter hath beene ſufficiently advertiſed, how the reſtraint of our deareſt Mother hath beene uncomlie interpreted, ſhe being the prince in the world who was neere unto her, both in blood and vicinitie, haveing repoſed her cheife worldly apperance in her amity, often confirmed by many freindly promiſes, and, by her adviſe and perſwading, dimitted the government of this realme; and, in her greateſt extremity, had her refuge unto her, *tanquam ad ſacram anchoram*, looking for nothing leſſe then captivity or impriſonment; but that, *jura ſanguinis, gentium, et hoſpitii, quæ ſemper ſacroſancta ſunt habita*, ſould have availed alſmekill at her hands, as could have beene expected of a generous and pitifull prince, nere couſin, and kindly aſſured freind. And thoughe her reſtraint was by the moſt part thouchte ſtrange, yet it

[1] HARLEIAN MSS. No. 1579, fol. 75.

would have beene conſtrued by many to the better parte, if this more ſtrange proceeding had not enſued.

Hee ſhall deſire our ſaid deareſt ſiſter to conſider adviſedly, how all men may conceive of ſo uncouth and rare a forme, ſo repougnant to the immediate ſupremacie graunted by God to ſoveraigne princes; whoſe holy ordinance will not admit the ſacred diademe to bee profained, nor his hier power in any his anointed bee ſubject to inferiors, nor thaire lawes, crownes, nor kingdomes, to be judged or diſpoſed uppon, at the appetite of ſubjects; and that procedure may be thouchte mair ſtrange, that be na lawe, ſpetiallye within this Ile, verry ſubjects ſelfs may be judged otherwiſe, but by the moſt parte theire peeris, and of equall rank and eſtate.

Hee ſhall alſoe declare unto our ſaid deareſt ſiſter, that haveing made ſpeciall choyce of her amitie, and in affections preferred her till all others, and with the loſſe of our neareſt and well affected freindis, continued in all fenceritye towards her, omitting noe parte of a well devoted freind and brother, wee did alwayes expect, and by good deſert have merited, the like correſpondency and kindneſſe on her parte, whereby ſhee might have beene moved to a freindly conſideracioun, how far ſuch proceedings might concerne us, as well in honour as otherwayes, and to have abſteyned from all things importing our diſhonour or prejudice.

Hee ſhall deſire our deareſt ſiſter to conſider, what conſtruccion has beene made of this pretendit partes, and what privitie this ſame may bee thought of our ſoe ſecret amitye ſoe lately contracted, noe parte of the ſaid pretended protection haveing at any tyme beene imparted unto noe other, by letter or meſſaige, but they have detected, without our knowledge or privitie, notwithſtanding the ſpeciall intereſt we had therein, ſo well knowne to herſelfe, and the ſincere obſervacions of our ſoe ſtrait freindſhip could not permitt nothinge to be over ſeene or neglected, in a matter of ſo greate weight; and if the ſame had been tymely ſignifyed unto us, wee ſhould have ſoe ſatyſfyed her in honour and ſecretie for them both, that ſhee ſhould not have needed to have recourſe to any ſoe dangerous remedie, and hard effects, as are likely to fall out.

Hee ſhall expound to our deareſt ſiſter, what juſt greife wee haue had of the rigor intended againſt our deareſt Mother, and that no

thinge in the world is more dear unto us then herſelfe and life, by whom wee received life; what duty wee owe unto her, both by the inuiolable law of God, and ſtreaiteſt bond of nature betweene us; and wee would rather yeeld our owne life then offend in a pointe ſoe carefully recommended by God, and ſoe highly touching us in honour; hartily deſiring her to enter into deep conſideracion, what becometh us of duety and nature, and what ſhee herſelf would do being in our place. Hee ſhall therefore moſt earneſtly deale with her, and in our behalfe intercede with all inſtance, that our ſaid deareſt Mothers life, alwayes ſoe deare unto us, may bee ſpared, that wee may thereby have occaſion the better to continue in our pr. ſent devoſions towards our ſaid deareſt ſiſter, and reape this fruite of our deſires and expectations. Remonſtring therewithal what a blemiſh it would be to her reputacion to devoide ſo far from her accuſtomed clemency, and naturally mildneſſe of her ſexe, as imbrew herſelfe into her owne blood, by taking the life of her neareſt couſin, beinge alſoe of the like calling and ſexe to herſelfe; beſides the juſt diſcontentment of many great Princes, who may bee moved thereby, and divers other inconveniencies, that ſuch rigor may breed, which will not impart that ſecurity to her owne perſon and eſtate that ſome would perſwade her may bee confirmed by extremitie.

If it ſhalbe objected unto you, that the prefervacion of our deareſt Motheris life carries with it any apparent danger to our deareſt ſiſter the Queen of England—for albeit, our ſaid deareſt Mother may be kept under reſtraint, and perhaps ſtayed from practiſing moyen and intelligence, yet that wilbe but gayning tyme unto her, and nather her own eſperance, nor the hope of her partiſants, thereby removed, who, for preferment, revenge, or pretended religion, ar about to conſpire againſt our ſayd deareſt ſiſter, but wilbee ſtill lying in waite, attending opportunity and occaſions to atteine unto theire deſignes—you may anſwer, her dealing and allegeit attempts (giff ony have beene) ſeamis to have proceeded of a diſpaire our ſaid deareſt Mother had conceived, by long and ſtreight impriſonment, and a womanly feare, deeply apprehending danger of her life; and, (as all captives naturally reclaiming liberty, has ſoliſited for liberty), ſoe as ſhee might move, and hes beene recommended by ſome of a contrary opi-

nion and diſpoſicion of our ſaid deareſt ſiſter, to ſhunne her perill, and ſeek her delivery: The moſt fitt and ſure expedient for the indempnitie of our ſaid deareſt ſiſter and eſtett of this realme, ſhalbe by putting her to libertie, out of the realme of England, upon ſecurity and joynt obligations of the Princes of her kin, freindſhippe and alyance, that nothing ſhalbee directly or indirectly attempted by her, or any of her adherents or favorites, againſt our deareſt ſiſter or her eſtate; ſoe ſhall both will and power to annoy be removed, and the cauſe ceaſing, ſoe ſhall the effect.

If it ſhalbee objected, that the ſparing of our deareſt Motheris life ſhall breed perill to the true Chriſtian religion and profeſſors thereof, ye may anſwer, It muſt needes produce the very contrary effect, and cheifely within this Ile: For that ſuch as indeede meene the ſubvercion of the true religion, would ayde themſelves in theire enterpriſes, by practiſing quarrell for her reſtraint and danger, and for her reſpect, like to bee aſſiſted by her favorites within this Ile, quhilk they account theire moſt important forte, if our deareſt Mothers death might bee procured in any ſorte. So by her preſervacion and liberty, theire quarrell and cheife injury ſhalbee removed, and, conſequentlye, more ſecurity of religion and quiet to the whole Ile inſhew; and bee the contrary, by her death, a more juſt quarrell may bee thereby pretended, and they and theire adherents and favorites more eagerly incenced to a more cruell deſire of revenge, wherein they would aſſure themſelves of our ayde and concurrence, who haue the cheife intereſt and ſhame by her death.

If it bee objected, that the preſervacion of our deareſt Motheris life, after the pretended condemnacion, will either argue the indignitie of the ſentence, or a feare in our deareſt ſiſter, whereby ſhe is moved to abſteyne from putting the ſame to further execution, ye may anſwer, It will breed fayme, prais, and imortal glory to our ſaid deareſt ſiſteris name, for her prudency, mildenes, and naturall clemency, proceeding onely of her owne accorde, beſide and againſt the adviſe and deliberacion of them who, ſeeking her blood to ſettle her eſtate, gives occaſion of greater unquietnes thereunto, and will breed to her a number of enemys, and common miſreporte. And if our deareſt Mo[illegible]ris life bee taken, it will plainely

appeare to proceede of feare and paſſions, and bee demed of all men *potius vindicta quam iuſtitia.*

If the danger of the aſſociates bee opponit, ye may anſwer, *functi ſunt officio.* And thouche our ſayd deareſt Mother, being alway alive, may be thouchte formidable unto them, ſhee ſhalbee altogether gained by the clemency of our ſaid deareſt ſiſter, what with ſo great praiſe as ſhee ſhall acquire thereby, and ſuertie of her perſone, wee will aſſure they will prefer to theire particulare dreid our oune future event, ſpetially by occaſion of her, who, by nature, cannot have long continuance.

If it bee objected, that by her death factions, and ſuch as carrye bouldned hartes, ſhall lacke one head on whom to depende, ye may anſwer, Her deathe, by likelyhood, will rather increaſe then terrifie, and rather ſtirr upp then quenche factions, and move and inflame then ſettle and mittigate boldned hartes. And if force or factions doe remaine, it wilbee eaſie for them to finde a conductor, more to bee doubted, then an afflicted woman, of unſound health and weak and diſeaſed body, who, uppon preſent ſecurity and ſure capitulacions, being out of the realme of England, is no wayes to be feared, and appearantly will haue no deſire, nor poſſiblie no power to anoye.

He ſhall alſo informe our deareſt ſiſter, *quæ ſunt nobis undique anguſtiæ, et quam ancipiti diſtrahimur*, our naturall deutie and honour preſſing us on the one parte, and the care we have of our ſaid deareſt ſiſter, to whom wee are entirely devoted, on the t'other, and above all, our zeale to trew religion, whereupon both our ſtates are ſettled; allſoe our ſaid deareſt ſiſteris perſone and eſtate, by all likelyhood, may be put in full ſecurity, by joynt and generall bands, obligacions, and pledges of ſuch Princes as will interpone theire faith and ſecurity with our deareſt Mother, that ſhee beeing delivered to any who wilbee alwayes anſwerable, upon his faith and perill of the hoſtages, that ſhe ſhall, neither directly nor indirectly, deale, practiſe, nor attempte againſt our ſaid deareſt ſiſteris perſon and eſtate. Soe, although ſhee would violatt her faith, and forfeit the benefites of her liberty and life, yet wee cannot ſuſpect ſhee will, beeing deprived of all force and money, and

lacking the aſſiſtance and good will of thoſe from whom ſhee expected the greateſt ayde, and all beſt affected unto her, ſhee ſhalbee able to doe no harme of herſelf, and ſhall incurr the wrath of all ſuch as has been kinde, and given their faith and eſtates for her; and unqueſtionably our deareſt ſiſteris perſon ſhalbe in ſecurity, and her realme free from practiſes and attemptacions, and all the dangerous deſignes prevented, of ſuch as effect the change of religion within this Ile.

If none of all theſe perſwading argumentis be thought ſufficient, ye ſhall, with all inſtance, preſſe our deareſt ſiſter to ſet downe, by adviſe of her wiſeſt and beſt affected Councellours, ſuch forme of ſecurity as ſhee and they ſhall thinke ſufficient, or poſſible, or conveniently may be adviſed, whereunto wee will not onely yeeld for our ſelfe, but alſo to our beſt endeavour to obteine the performance thereof of all others, with whom ſhee will capitulate in this behalfe; proteſting before God, the life of our deareſt ſiſter is no leſs deare unto us, in all reſpects, then the life of our deareſt Mother, or our owne.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE FREIND, MR ARCH. DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDIS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.[1]

Sir, I mett a pacquet of yours yeſterday at four in the morning at Vederbie, containing an anſwer of that I ſend by Reſtabris, [Reſtalrig?] bot all I remit to meiting. For my awin pairt, I aſſur you, I am as you left me. Marie, to one pairt of your letter, I muſt anſwer, quhere ye ſay that I uſit threatning, if the Queen of Scotlands lyf was taken, that ye vould dea a baniſit man; by my treuthe, I uſit it as no threatning, but advertiſed you quhat the King ſayd; and in that ſame letter I vrot to you quhat ves ſpoken of my ſelf, ſo that if it ves a threatning, I threatnit my ſelf in lyk manner. Now, Sir, I am come heir at his Majeſties command, I

[1] From Murdin's State Papers, p. 575.

ſweir unto you, agenſt my vil, durſt I have ſayd nay. For that I am to abyde Sir Robert Melvin, who is to be at me vithin two days, for I left him at Morpeth, I mynd to ſtay at Vare. So that I think meiteſt ye and Villiam Keythe eſſey quhat hir Majeſtie thinks of it, and thereafter ſend me vord, if I meit not with you, quhat is her mynd; for I have no command to ſpeik vith any til he be vith me, nether vil I do it, for ſic reaſons as ye ſhall know at meiting. Bot I let you know, and ye may aſſhur all thair, that our commiſſion is verie honourable and modeſt. For my awin particular, I have vrottin to Mr Sec. Valſingham ane offre, bot becaus my tyme permittis not, I pray you to ſee the letter ſend to him. In the mid tyme ſpeik hardely to the Queen, that I think ſhe has not uſit me according to hir promis, ſeeing this is the ſecond time ſhe has ſuſpected me vithout cauſe. Quhair ſhe ſayis, ſhe knowis more of me nor ye do; by God, I ſay this fare, if ſhe euer knew me do vrong, it ves for that I enterid forder for hir ſervice than good reaſon permittit. Bot all this to meiting, and committis you to God.

Your loving freind,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From Stamfort this 25th of
December, 1586.

God villing, I ſhall be at Vare the morrow be noon. His Majeſtie vrot efter me to advertiſe you and Villie Keythe to crave audience, quhen ye hard of Sir Robertis coming and myn, and if neid cravis it, that I ſhould crave preſence vithout Sir Robert; bot that I vill not do vithout a verie extreim neceſſitie. So I pray you to let me know of all maiteres.

A MEMORIAL FOR HIS MAJESTY BY THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

IT will pleaſe your Majeſty, I have tho't meeter to ſet down all things

[1] This and the following three articles are taken from the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland. Dr Robertson printed them from the original MSS., at that time in the collection of the late Sir Alexander Dick, and now in the possession of Sir George

as they occur, and all advertiſements as they came to my ears, then jointly in a lettre.

I came to Vare the 24th of Dec. and ſent to William Keith and Mr Archibald Douglas to advertiſe the Queen of it, like as they did at their audience. She promiſed the Queen your Majeſty's mother's life ſhould be ſpared till we were heard. The 27th, they came to Vare to me, the which day Sir Robert came to Vare, where they ſhewed us how far they had already gone in their negociation; but, for that the diſcourſe of it is ſet down in our general letter, I remit me to it, only this far I will teſtify unto your Majeſty, that William Keith hath uſed himſelf right honeſtly and wiſely till our coming, reſpecting all circumſtances, and chiefly his colleague his dealing, which indeed is not better than your Majeſty knows already.

The 29th of Dec^{r}. we came to London, where we were no ways friendly received, nor after the honeſt ſort it has pleaſed your Majeſty uſe her ambaſſadors; never man ſent to welcome or convey us. The ſame day we underſtood of Mr de Bellievre his leave taking; and for that the cuſtom permitted not, we ſent our excuſes by Mr George Young.

The 1st day of January, William Keith and his colleague, according to the cuſtom, ſent to crave our audience. We received the anſwer contained in the general letter, and could not have anſwer till the 6th day. What was done that day your Majeſty has it in the general, yet we was not out of eſperance at that time, albeit we received hard anſwers.

The 8th day we ſpeak with the Earl of Leiceſter, where our conference was, as is ſet down in the general. I remarked this, that he that day ſaid plainly, the detaining of the Queen of Scotland priſoner was for that ſhe pretended a ſucceſſion to this crown. Judge then by this what is tho't of your Majeſty, as ye ſhall hear a little after.

The 9th day we ſpeak with the French ambaſſador, whom we find very plain in making to us a wiſe diſcourſe of all his proceedings; and

Warrender of Lochend, Bart. It is evident that Dr Robertson has modernised the language, which made it desirable to collate them with the originals. Application was therefore made to Sir George Warrender; but it appears that the manuscripts have been unfortunately mislaid.

Mr de Bellievre we thanked him in your Majeſty's name, and opened ſuch things as we had to treat with this Queen, ſave the laſt point, as more largely ſet down by our general.

It is tho't here, and ſome friends of your Majeſty's adviſed me, that Bellievre his negotiation was not effectual, and that the reſident was not privy to it, as indeed I think is true; for ſince Bellievre his perting, there is a talk of this Chaſteauneuf his ſervants taken with his whole papers and pacquets, which he was ſending in France, for that they charge him with a conſpiracy of late againſt the Queen here her life. It is alledged his ſervant has confeſſed the matter, but whom I ſhall truſt I know not, but till I ſee proof I ſhall account him an honeſt man, for indeed ſo he appears, and one (without doubt) who hath been very inſtant in this matter. I ſhew him that the Queen and Earl of Leiceſter had deſired to ſpeak with me in private, and craved his opinion; he gave it freely that he tho't it meeteſt: I ſhew him the reaſon why I communicate that to him, for that I had been ſuſpected by ſome of her Majeſty's friends in France to have done evil offices in her ſervice, that he ſhould be my witneſs that my earneſt dealing in this ſhould be a ſufficient teſtimony that all was lyes, and that this knave Naue, who now had betrayed her, had in that done evil offices. He deſired me, ſeeing ſhe ſaw only with other folks eyes, that I ſhould no ways impute it to her, for the like ſhe had done to himſelf by Naue his perſuaſion. I anſwered he ſhould be my witneſs in that.

The 9th day we ſent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day. At the firſt, ſhe ſaid, a thing long looked for ſhould be welcome when it comes; I would now ſee your Maſter's offers. I anſwered, no man makes offers but for ſome cauſe; we would, and like your Majeſty, firſt know the cauſe to be extant for which we offer, and likewiſe that it be extant till your Majeſty has heard us. I think it be extant yet, but I will not promiſe for an hour, but you think to ſhift in that ſort. I anſwered, we mind not to ſhift, but to offer from our Sovereign all things that with reaſon may be; and in ſpecial, we offered as is ſet down in our general: all was refuſed and tho't nothing. She called on the three that were in the houſe, the Earl of Leiceſter, my Lord Admiral, and Chamberlain,

and very deſpitefully repeated all our offers in preſence of them all. I opened the laſt part, and ſaid, Madam, for what reſpect is it that men deal againſt your perſon or eſtate for her cauſe? She anſwered, becauſe they think ſhe ſhall ſucceed to me, and for that ſhe is a papiſt. Appearingly, ſaid I, both the cauſes may be removed. She ſaid ſhe would be glad to underſtand it. If, Madam, ſaid I, all that ſhe has of right of ſucceſſion were in the King our ſovereign's perſon, were not all hope of papiſts removed? She anſwered, I hope ſo. Then, Madam, I think the Queen, his mother, ſhall willingly demit all her rights in his perſon. She anſwered, She hath no right, for ſhe is declared unhabil. Then, I ſaid, if ſhe have no right, appearingly the hope ceaſes already, ſo that it is not to be feared that any man attempt for her. The Queen anſwered, But the papiſts allow not our declaration. Then let it fall, ſays I, in the King's perſon by her aſſignation. The Earl of Leiceſter anſwered, She is a priſoner, how can ſhe demit? I anſwered, The demiſſion is to her ſon, by the advice of all the friends ſhe has in Europe; and in caſe, as God forbid, that any attempt cuttis the Queen here away, who ſhall party with her to prove the demiſſion or aſſignation to be ineffectual, her Son being oppoſite party and having all the princes her friends for him, having bonded for the efficacy of it with his Majeſty of before. The Queen made as ſhe could not comprehend my meaning, and Sir Robert opened the matter again; ſhe yet made as though ſhe underſtood not. So the Earl of Leiceſter anſwered, that our meaning was, that the King ſhould be put in his Mother's place. Is it ſo, the Queen anſwered, then I put myſelf in a worſe caſe than of before: By God's paſſion, that were to cut my own throat; and, for a dutchy or an earldom to yourſelf, you or ſuch as you would cauſe ſome of your deſperate knaves kill me: No, by God, he ſhall never be in that place. I anſwered, He craves nothing of your Majeſty, but only of his Mother. The Earl of Leiceſter anſwered, that were to make him party to the Queen my miſtreſs. I ſaid, he will be far more party, if he be in her place through her death. She would ſtay no longer, but ſaid ſhe would not have a worſe in his Mother's place; and ſaid, Tell your King what good I have done for him in holding the Crown on his head ſince he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that now ſtands between us, and if he break it ſhall be a double fault: and with this

minded to have bidden us a farewell; but we achevit.[1] And I ſpeak craving of her that her life may be ſpared for 15 days; ſhe refuſed. Sir Robert craved for only eight days; ſhe ſaid not for an hour; and ſo geid her away. Your Majeſty ſees we have delivered all we had for offers, but all is for nothing, for ſhe and her Councel has laid a determination that they mind to follow forth; and I ſee it comes rather of her Councel than herſelf, which I like the worſe; for without doubt, Sir, it ſhall cut off all friendſhip ye had here. Although it were that once they had meaned well to your Majeſty, yet, remembering themſelves that they have medled with your Mother's blood, good faith, they cannot hope great good of yourſelf, a thing in truth I am ſorry for. Further, your Majeſty may perceive by this laſt diſcourſe of that I proponit, if they had meaned well to your Majeſty, they had uſed it other wiſe than they have done, for reaſon has bound them. But I dare not write all. I mind ſomething to ſpeak in this matter, becauſe we look ſhurly our letters ſhall be truſſit by the way.

For that I ſee private credit nor no means can alter their determination, although the Queen again and the Earl of Leiceſter has deſired to ſpeak with me in particular; I mind not to ſpeak, nor ſhall not; but aſſuredly ſhall let all men ſee that I in particular was no ways tyed to England, but for the reſpect of your Majeſty's ſervice. So albeit, at this time, I could not effectuate that I deſired, yet my upright dealing in it ſhall be manifeſted to the world. We are, God willing, then to crave audience, where we mind to uſe ſharply our inſtructions, which hitherto we have uſed very calmly, for we can, for your Honour's cauſe, ſay no leſs for your Majeſty than the French ambaſſador has ſaid for his maſter.

So I pray your Majeſty conſider my upright dealing in your ſervice, and not the effect, for had it been doable by any, I might have here had credit; but being I came only for that cauſe, I will not my credit ſhall ſerve here to any further purpoſe. I pray God preſerve your Majeſty, and ſend you a true and ſincere friendſhip. From London, this 12th of Jan. 1586.

I underſtand the Queen is to ſend one of her own to your Majeſty.

[1] Dr Robertson explains this, 'Finished arguing upon this point.'

TO THE RIGHT HON. MY LORD VICE-CHANCELLOR AND SECRETARY TO HIS MAJESTY, FROM THE MASTER OF GRAY.

My Lord, I ſend you theſe lines, with this incloſed, to his Majeſty, whereby your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand how matters goes here. And before all things, I pray your Lordſhip move his Majeſty to reſpect my diligence, and not the effect in this negociation; for I ſwear, if it had been for the crown of England to myſelf, I could do no more; and let not unfriends have advantage of me, for the world ſhall ſee that I loved England for his Majeſty's ſervice only. I look ſhortly to find your Lordſhip friend as ye made promiſe, and, by God, I ſhall be to you if I can. William Keith and I devyſet, if matters had gone well, to have run a courſe that your Lordſhip might have here been in credit and others diſappointed, but now I will do for you as for myſelf; which is to care for no credit here, for in conſcience they mean not honeſtly to the King, our ſovereign, and if they may, he will go the get his Mother is gone or ſhortly to go; therefore, my Lord, without all kind of ſcruple, I pray you to adviſe him the beſt is not this way. They ſay here, that it has been ſaid by one who heard it from you, that ye deſired not the King and England to agree, becauſe it would rack the noblemen, and gave an example of it by King James the Fourt. I anſwered in your name, that I was aſſured you had never ſpoken it. Mr Archibald is the ſpeaker of it, who I aſſure your Lordſhip has been a poiſon in this matter, for they lean very mickle to his opinion. He cares not, he ſays, for at length the King will be fain to deal this way, either by fair means or neceſſity, ſo that when he deals this courſe he is aſſured to be welcome. To ſet down all that is paſt of the like purpoſes, it would conſume more paper than I have here, ſo I defer it to meeting. There is a new conſpiracy alledged againſt the Queen to have been intended, for the French ambaſſador reſident three of his men taken, but I think in the end it ſhall prove nothing. Mr Stafford, who is ambaſſador for this Queen in France, is touched with it; his

brother is taken here. Always it has done this harm in our negociation, that all this council would not move this Queen to meddle with the Queen of Scotland's blood, till this invention was found forth. I remit all other things to the incloſed. We minded to have ſent to his Majeſty a diſcourſe, which we have ſet down of all our proceedings ſince our hither coming; but we are ſurely advertized that the bearer is to be truſſed by the way for our pacquets, ſo that we defer it till our own coming: this I have put in a privy part beſide the pacquet. We ſhall, I think, take leave on Fryday the 13th day, where we mind exactly to follow the rigour of our inſtructions, for it cannot ſtand with the King's honour that we ſay leſs than the French ambaſſador, which was, *Le Roy mon maiſtre ne peult moins faire que ſe reſentir.* So that about the 24th I think we ſhall, God willing, be at home, except that ſome ſtay come which we look not for. The Queen and the Earl of Leiceſter has deſired to ſpeak with me. I refuſed ſave in preſence of my colleagues, by reaſon I ſee a determination which particular credit cannot help, and I crave no credit but for that cauſe. It will pleaſe your Lordſhip retire the incloſed from his Majeſty and keep it. So, after my ſervice commended to yourſelf and bedfellow, I commit you to God. From London, the 12th of Jan. 1586.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTY, FROM SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

It may pleaſe your Majeſty, ſince the direction of our former letters, we had audience, and her Majeſty appeared to take our overtures in good part in preſence of her Council; albeit no offers could take place with them, having taken reſolution to proceed with extremity. Not the leſs, it pleaſed her Majeſty to deſire us to ſtay for two days on taking our leave, until ſhe had adviſed upon our propoſitions; ſince which time, her Majeſty is become more hard by ſome letters (as we are informed) has come from Scotland, making ſome hope to believe that your Majeſty takes not

this matter to heart, as we know the contrary in effect, and had of before removed the like opinion out of her Majeſty's mind, which by ſiniſter information was credited. Their reports has hindered our commiſſion, and abuſed this Queen, fearing in like manner we ſhall be ſtayed until anſwer come from Scotland by ſuch perſon as they have intelligence of. And albeit that it will be well enough known to all men how heavily your Majeſty takes this proceeding to heart, the truth is, that they have by this occaſion ſo perſuaded the Queen, that it is like to hinder our negotiation. As alſo Alchinder Steward is to be directed in their party, by our knowledge, who has awantyt more of his credit than I believe he may perform; and we willed him to deſiſt from this dealing, ſaying it does harm, and he is not meet for that purpoſe, remitting to your Majeſty's good diſcretion to take order herein; as we ſhall be anſwerable to your Majeſty not to omit any point we have in charge, as the truth is, the Maſter of Graye has behaved himſelf very uprightly and diſcreetly in this charge, and evil tayne with be divers in theſe parts who were of before his friends. We have been behalding to the menſtrals who has born us beſt company, but has not been troubled with others. Wylzeme Kethe hath left nothing undone that he had in charge. As for Mr Archibald, he has promiſed at all times to do his dewoyr, wherein he ſhall find true report made to your Majeſty. Craving pardon of your Majeſty that I have been ſo tedious, after I have kiſſed your Majeſty's hand, I humbly take my leave. Praying God to grant your Majeſty many good days and happy, in whoſe protection I commit your Majeſty. At London, the 26th of Jan. 1586.

Sir, Albeit Maſter George[1] has not been in commiſſion, he is not inferior in his ſervice to any of us, as well by his good advice and diligent care he takes for the advancement of your ſervice, wherein we have not been a little furthered.

[1] Mr George Young.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTY, FROM THE MASTER OF GRAY AND SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

PLEASE it your Majeſty, in the laſt audience we had, ſince our laſt advertiſement by William Murray, we find her Majeſty at the reſuming our offers ſomething mitigated, and inclined to conſider more deeply of them. Before we got leave, at our reaſoning, certain of the council, namely, my Lord Leiceſter, Sir Chriſtopher Haton, my Lord Hunſdon, and my Lord Hawart, being preſent in the chamber, gave little ſhow of any great contentment to have her from her former reſolution, now caſſin in perplexitie what ſhe ſhould do; always we left her in that ſtate, and ſince have daily preſſed conference with the whole Council, which to this hour we have not yet obtained. This day we have ſent down to crave our leave. The greateſt hinder which our negociation has found hitherto, is a perſuaſion they have here, that either your Majeſty deals ſuperficially in this matter, or that with time ye may be moved to digeſt it; which, when with great difficulty we had expugnit, we find anew that certain letters written to them of late from Scotland has found ſome place of credit with them in our contrare. So that reſolving now to clear them of that doubt by a ſpecial meſſage, they have made choice of Sir Alexander Stewart to try your Highneſs's meaning in it, and to perſuade your Majeſty to like of their proceedings, where from no terror we can ſay out unto him is able to divert him; he has given out that he has credit with your Majeſty, and that he doubts not to help this matter at your Highneſs's hand. If he come there that errand, we think your Majeſty will not overſee the great diſgrace that his attempts ſhall give us here, if he be not tane order with before that he be further heard; and if ſo be that any other be directed, (as our intelligence gives us there ſhall), our humble ſuit is to your Majeſty, that it may pleaſe your Highneſs to hear of us what we find here, and at what point we leave this matter with her Majeſty, before that they find accidence. The cauſes whereof remitting to our private letters, we commit your Majeſty for the preſent to God's eternal protection. From London, this 21ſt of Jan. 1586.

NOTES OF A LETTER TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

WONDERS King James 6. ſhould take ſo hainouſly þe death of his Mother, as to meditate revenge, being contrary to his intereſt and wiſdom. Firſt, þe quarrel being unjuſt, and no ſuceſſe can be expected in ſuch a caſe; þat ſentence being thought neceſſary for the Queenis ſafety and þat of þe land, he oppoſes himſelf to þe judgement of God, whoſe miniſters they were in giving that ſentence. Scotland not able to make head againſt England, it being ſtronger, and þe former weaker, by þe want of þe aſſiſtence of France, who are not ſo fond of þe old allies ſince England has loſt its footing in France. Aſſiſtance from oþer foreign Princes not much to be depended upon, both being tedious, ſmall, and uncertain, as the experience of þe Kingis Mother may diſcover. England nead not fear all the attempts if attacked, which, by the conjunction of Holland and Zealand, has gott ſuch ſtrength by ſea; and if þe King ſhould invade England and be defeated, taken priſoner, this realm, ſo provocked, may diſable him from þe Succeſſion, as by law they may; oþerwiſe if he behave himſelf with þat moderation þat becomes a Prince of his perfections and education, which is alſo neceſſary in this remedyleſs accident, and by this kindneſs to Queen Elizabeth, who has ſo well deſerved at his hands, he will win þe hearts of þe whole kingdom. If war ſhould enſue, (now in a manner extinct), þe old quarrels and animoſity would be revived to þat degree, þat þe Engliſh would never accept him for their Prince, but eſpecially þe nobility would be irreconciliable, by whoſe ſentence Queen Mary ſuffered, and would never ſuffer a Prince to rule over þem whom they have reaſon to fear would call þer Honours lives in queſtion. Beſides, þer are but two potentates upon whom he can depend for aſſiſtence to take preſent poſſeſſion of þe crown, viz. France and Spain; and who would adviſe him to apply to eþer of them, diſcover both want of fidelity and

[1] SLOANE MSS. in Brit. Museum, No. 3199, art. 65, p. 112.

judgement: And it is not politick to truſt to thoſe who will be jealous of his greatneſs, as a hindrance to þer deſyres and deſigns, which is þe caſe unto thoſe 2 Princes who are enemies of King James religion, ſeing þat bred a difficulty in his Mothers negotiations, and were only favorable becauſe they hoped that ſhe, being at liberty, by her wiſdom, might convert him; if þat did not ſucceed, þe King of Spain was to be her heir; how much more will they be jealous of him, who is a man, and more powerfull, by the union of þe two Crowns? It is contrary to þe intereſt of France to ſtrengthen and make more powerfull a King of England, who by ſo doing may be þe more able to diſpute his title to France itſelf; þe French King will with great difficulty be brought to engage in a foreign war, *it being well known that that King, againſt his will, was engaged in the Civill war by thoſe of the Houſe of Guiſe, for the which he has good cauſe to complean*, whatſoever ſhew he makes. No doubt he hateth þem, and wiſhes them confuſion in heart. And if þe French, by a pretext of King James quarrel, tranſport the war out of their own country into this iſland, King James would only be uſed as an inſtrument to ſerve a turn, as his predeceſſors heretofore have been, to þe effuſion of much Scotch bloud, and þe ſpoil of þat realm. Neþer is it the intereſt of þe French King to advance the affairs of a king related in bloud to þe Houſe of Guiſe, by whoſe aſſiſtance their deſign to poſſeſs þat crown, and to depoſe þe King, (a matter by him greatly doubted), may þe better take effect. For þe Spanyard, his age and unſettled eſtate ſhould raþer encline him to peace; if oþerwiſe, his ambition cannot but be dangerous to your King his practices, his power, his colour of right; for it is well known how he had figured himſelf an Empire over this part of þe world, what plots he laid for þe compaſſing thereof; he deſigned þe conqueſt of this land in Queene Maryes time, he being then our King in right of his wife; the conqueſt was fully concluded afterwards under collour of Religion, and by þe Prince of Orange, then of þe Privy Council, was ſince repeated. He now pretendeth himſelf þe firſt Catholick of the bloud royall of England, being before reputed, though falſely, heir of the Houſe of Lancaſter, as by the pedigrees and books publiſhed by þe Biſhop of Roſſe and others in his favour, may appear. It was practiſed, even during þe late King of Scotis life, by þe Jeſuits and

divers gentlemen, to advance him to þe Crown by the way of election, to þe prejudice of her and her Lord, as meeteſt to reſtore þe Roman authority both here and elſewhere, though they did not altogether think of your Maſters converſion, þey were aſſured he would not part with þe ſupremacy. We may eaſily judge how far he would prevail of þe donation made of this Crown by the late Queen of Scots, in her letters promiſed to be confirmed in her laſt Will and Teſtament, whereof his Ambaſſador at Paris, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, thinks not already to make open vaunt; and what herſelf hath practiſed to þat effect with her ſervants, ſince her condemnation, God knows. Laſtly, being þe ſtrongeſt, what ſhould let him to diſpoſe of þe prey as he liſteth. And yet by change of his religion, he ſhall be able to mend þe matter is very improbable, conſidering þe ſame private reſpects of þeir own eſtates and pretentions will ſtill remain; and for the King of Spains part, þe uſurpation of þe kingdom of Portugall giveth evident proof þat his ambition cannot be reſtrained when he hath þe advantage, by any bonds of religion, honour, or juſtice; and þe ſimple A. . . . . poor Don Antonio has received, notwithſtanding he is a catholique, doth ſufficiently ſhew what is to be hoped for, þat ought happen to your Sovereign in like caſe.

But contrariwiſe, þe Kingis revolt from religion (which God defend) is likely to be judged a want of religion raþer than a change, and would be his utter overthrow, and diſcredit in all Chriſtendom; for as it ſhall loſe him his native and faithful ſubjects, and well willers both at home and abroad, ſo will it but win him hollow hearted friends, in reſpect þat no appearance can be had of his conſtancy in any religion, if it ſhall appear that upon ſtomacke he ſhall turn from his God and that Religion, wherein he was extraordinarily inſtructed; neither can he preſently expect to be inheritour of his Motheris party and credit here, which, notwithſtanding, was not ſufficient to hold all the Catholicks of England united.

And for his honour, it is ſufficiently ſecured, ſeing he mediated ſo earneſtly for her life to þe laſt; but ſhe being now executed for ſuch gud and neceſſary cauſes, it will be more for his honour to ſee how he can moderate his paſſion by reaſon.

And ſo it is wiſhed by all good men, both for the common good of this iſland, and for his own greatneſs every way, that he were adviſed, and to thank God, who hath delivered him by this means of a great burden of conſcience, which oþerwiſe muſt haue been upon him, as at whoſe hands God would have looked for a revenge of his Fathers blood, ſo innocently and horribly ſpilt, by her conſent and privity, not to ſpeak of þe goodneſs of God towards him, in eſtabliſhing his throne, continually undermined by her practiſes; the end whereof will be, if he be well counſelled, the beginning of all happeneſs here, inſtead of being ſent as hoſtage or ward to Pope or Spanyard, as þe ſaid Quene would haue made him, he may abſolutely and quietly reign.

Thus you ſie how þe care and deſyre I haue of þe continuance of amity and peace between ye 2 kingdoms, has carried me into a long diſcourſe. I truſt you will do all þe good offices which on your part ſhall be poſſible, conſidering þat our ſatiſfaction in this behalf ſhall be joined with þe ſervice of God, your own Soveraign, and Country, which þerby ſhall reap þe bleſſed fruits of peace.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

My guid Lord, notwithſtandine yowir Lordſhip be ſufficientlie prouydit of frindſchipe in þir pairts, and of ſik qwhom wit, moyen, and experiens ſerwis them, till informe yowir Lordſhip better of the preſent aeſteit of this contrie than I, yeit, newertheles, I thocht it juſt well be this preſent to mak the guid will I haif to do yowir Lordſhips honur and ſerwiſe manifeſt and knowine onto yowir Honur, qwhairof yowir Lordſhip ſall haif ſik prwif as my ſmall walewr maey extend to. I haif wretine to Mr Archibalt Dwglas at lenthe, the werrie aeſtaet of matters at þis preſent, quhilk I dowt nocht bot he will commwnicat with yowir Lordſhip: onely will I deſyr and foir-

[1] From the original, Harl. MSS. No. 292, fo. 48. This and the two following letters marked 876 †† are stated in the printed catalogue to be written by a 'Scots Intelligencer.'

warne yowir Lordſhip to be ware of the Secretarie, qwha traevells, be all moyen, to diveſt Inglant of all kynd of frindſchipe in þir pairts, and be þat moyen to mak yow unaebill to do aeny thing in þis contrie by him; quhairbe, togither with his graetnes with the King, he compellit France to ſeik his frindſchipe, and ſua to debaiſche his ennemies, and tranffer þe credit of all in his owine perſone; for aſſuritlie, if he dwrſt hazarde, or ſaw aeny apirans, he wald nocht ſeis aſs yeit to preis þe Kings Maieſtie to goe þe Fraence cours; bot ſeing his Maieſtie uþerwayſs affectionat, he folwis his hwmowr, to mak his profeit be all occaſions, for, aſs he ſays him ſelf, he lipins for no gwid at þair hands, and is aſſurit þat þe King will be conſtraenit to leif that cours before ane yeir be paſt. For the quhilk cowrſs it ſall nocht be gwide, þat ye leif of yowir deling with þe Maſter of Gray as yeit, qwha, ſens his homcwme, is graetwmlie affectionat yowir way; and alls, þat it will be no ſmall brydill to hawld þe Secretaire in ordwr. And in reſpect þat þe Maſter dar nocht deill him ſelf with none of yow direclie, in reſpect of þe evill bruit he haes incwrrit for his laſt deling with Inglande, it war gwide he war aſs yeit delt with ſpecialie be yowir Lordſhip, in qwhom he haes no ſmall trwſte, if it war bot to hawld of his will. He haes deſyrit me to wreit to Mr Archibald in þis pwrpois, for wþerwaſs I am no ways plaen with him, þerfor ſik letters as is directit to him ſend þem with myn, for ſo haes he deſyrit to be done, and I ſall mak þe anſweris to be delywerit to Sir Haenrie Widdrintone. He is entering at þis ſam tyme in confederacie with the Erll of Huntlie, Crafwirde, Montrois, Rothes, Maxwell, and my Lord Clowde of Paeſley, qwha ar all for þe moiſt pairt catholikis, affectionat to þe Fraence cowrs, and ennemies to þe Lords þat cam in at Stirline. The Maſter, aſs he ſays to me, dois þis to paertie þe Secretarie, qwha dois þat he can for þe preſent to wrack him, for all þir nobill men invyſs þe Secretaries credit. Alwayſs quhaitſoever near effect þis mater ſall tak, yowir Lordſhip ſall be forſein þerwith, togither with all þat Tomas Tyrie haes done in France for þe Maſter of Gray, quhouſone he ſall cwme home, quhilk, aſs þe Maſter is aduertiſit, will be ſchortlie; ſua þat þaer ſall be nothing done heir in aenie forrein cowrſis bot yowir Lordſhip ſall be dewlie acqwentit þerwith. He is nocht till inſiſt diligentlie with þe Kingis Maieſtie, nochtwithſtandine of aeny thing þat is paſt,

and yowir traevell will nocht be in waen, for his Maieſtie will goe yowir way for aens, in ſpyt of all theis þat will inſiſt in þe contraer. My Lord Hamiltone and Boidwell ar þe graetaeſt ennemies ye haif heir; bot ye haif þat awantage, þat þay are nocht ye wyſeſt in þe warld. I haif newer gottine woird aſs yeit from yowir Lordſhip, quherof I merwell. I am conſtraenit to mak my continwall reſidens in Court, or wþerwayſs I wald be improfitable in þir twrns. Remittine þe reſt to yowir Lordſhipis diſcretione, with my affectionat commendations of ſerwice to yowir Lordſhipis ſelf, committs yowir Lordſhip in Gods holy protectione. From Edinbroche þe thride day of Maerche, 1586.

Yowir Lordſhips awin to be comanditt.

To my werrie gwid Lorde,
Sir Francis Walſinghame,
Secretarie to the Qwins Maieſtie
of Inglande.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

My gwid Lorde, ſens þe cloſine of my letter wnto yowir Lordſhip, hawing founde þe Maſter of Gray greatwmlie alterat and chaengit of his former gwidwill and intentione profeſſit to Inglande, aſs in particwlar, he haed impairtit to myſelf þe nicht of befoir; qwhairat I merwelit greatwmlie, and þat in reſpect of his inconſtante deling and ſuddean mwtatione, and being werrie inquiſitive to knaw and underſtande qwhait he haed for it, (aſs in all things he is plaen with me), ſo did he dilaet at lenth unto me þe hoill cawſs of þis his haeſtie wraeithe and paſſionat deling, confeſſine to me þat he haed wretine to my Lord of Leiceſter befoir his laſt cwmine in Inglande, and þat in maeters of aeſtate and graet importance, quhilk ar

[1] From the original in Harl. MSS. No. 292, fo. 50.

nocht neſſiſair to be reherſit at þis preſent; quhilk wreits my Lord of Leciſter delywerit to Sir Alexander Stewart, to haif preſentit to þe Kingis Maieſtie of Scotlande, and þat for his diſgrace only, aſs in plaen terms he ſpak to Alexander, quhilk woirds he haes nocht left unreherſit. For þe quhilkis wreits, ſuppois he haed his warrand of þe Kingis Maieſtie, yiet þe maeter itſelf was ſwa odiwſs, þat my Lord of Leiceſter did qwhait in him laey to perrall þe Maſteris lyf, ſtanding, honwr, and reputatione for ewer; and nocht only þis, bot þe Qwins maieſtie hir ſelf communicat ſik purpoſis to Sir Alexander of þe Maſter, giffine him an expreſs commiſſione to impairt þe ſamings to his Maieſtie, þat if Sir Alexander haed nocht diſcloſit þe ſecrecie of all þir plattis, the Maſter haed bein in no les parrell, þan he and all þat lwiffis him ar of aweill. Thir maeters war rewelit be Sir Alexander this Setterday, the thrid of Marche, I hawine cloſit my letters þe nicht of befoir, and delywerit þem to Capitaen Carwell. I maey heir mak trew recoird of þir things, hawine hard Sir Alexander my cwſinge, and read þe Maſters letters, being delywerit be Sir Alexander to þe Maſter; qwhairat I was not lytill abaiſchite at my Lords wyſdome, qwha cwld nocht conjectwr of þe mans naturall better, quhilk is knowine till all þe woirld heir, and enters þe ſelf in all his actions; yeit I haue inſiſtit ſua far with þe Maſter þat he is content till differ and ſuperceid his jwgment of this maeter till I ſulde wreit to Mr Archibald, aſs I promiſit to his Lordſhip to doe. Befoir my gwid Lord, ſaiuane yowir Lordſhipis better awyſs and opinione, it war gwid my Lord Leiceſter ſuld wreit his excwſis to þe Maſter in thir things þat ar fallen out, aſs I belif far by his expectatione, and þat yowir Lordſhip wreit in þe Qwins pwrgatione, qwhairof Sir Alexander haes no prwif bot his awine ſayine, quhilk is nocht with wſs werrie awtentik. Moirower, yowir Lordſhip will commwnicat þis maeter to Mr Archibald, and cawſs him wreit to me aſs if I haed wretine to him in þis maeter. I gif nocht my awyſs to yowir Lordſhip in þis maeter, but graet cawſs and mony gwid motiwes and conſiderations, aſs yowir Lordſhip ſall knaw be tyme; for indeid I am aeſtemit participant of all his procedings, ſua that if he be falline, I can nocht gwidlie ſtande to do yowir Lordſhip aeny ſerwice or pleſeir. Feir nocht of aeny thing þe Maſter can attempt agaenſt yowir aeſteit, for I ſall be aebill to cawſs yow anticipat all his deſeins, as yowir

Lordſhip ſall haif þe prwif of my honeſtie, ſo will I howpe to be acknowlegit. I will pray yowir Lordſhip to cawſs returne Mr Archibalds anſwer of þis pwrpois to me with expeditione, togither with my Lord of Leiceſters and yowir Lordſhips letters, if it ſeim expedient to yowir wiſdome. I howpe ſchortlie till haif farder credit to do gwid officis for þe Kings Maieſtie my maiſters ſtanding, and for continwing þe paece and frindſchipe betwixt the twa contris, qwhairinn I ſall lack no gwidwill, ſua far aſs my ſimpill moyen may extend. Sua, hawing preſentit my hwmbill commendations of ſerwice unto yowir Lordſhips ſelf, I leif yowir Lordſhip in Gods holy protectione. Frome Edinebroche, þe thride day of Maerche, 1586.

Youir Lordſhips maiſt affectionat to be
commandit with ſerwice,

876 ††

Thaer is nichtlie cartells tint, and paſqwills affixit, agaenſt the King and þe Lords of his Cownſall, prowokine him till ane rewenge of his Moþeris dethe. It were beſt þerfor þat maeters war hotlie handelit, for tym is preciwſs.

To my werrie gwid Lorde,
Sir Francis Walſinghame,
Secretaer to the Qwines Maieſtie
of Inglande.

ROBERT CARVYLE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGAAM.[1]

Ryghte Honourable, my dutie remembred, theſe are to ſertifie your

[1] From the original in the Cotton MSS. Calig C. IX. fol. 171. This letter was first published in Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary. It is also included in the 'Excerpta Scotica,' 8vo., Edin. 1825, a volume of fugitive pieces relating to Scottish affairs; and again printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his collection of Original Letters, 8vo., 1827.

Honor, that I have bene in Scotland ever ſynce þe laſt of February, and coude get no diſpatche untill Monday þe ſixt of this inſtant, att nyne of the clock in the mornynge; and then I receyved (att th'ands of the Secretary, whoe rulethe the Courte) a letter to Mr Carie from hym, by warrante from þe Kings Maieſtie, which was to this effecte; that he ſhowlde write that the Kinge wold receyve no Embaſſador as yet, partly by reaſon of his hevines and ſorowynge for his Mother, and alſo for that he is not reſolved that the Quenes Maieſtie is ſo ſory for his Mothers death as he was informed ſhe was; and, further, becauſe he cannot ſtaye the rigor of his people, being wickedly bent and evel geven, as I bothe hard and ſawe with myne eyes; ffor there is dayly libells ſett vpp in open ſtrete, and caſt into the pulpit, boathe ageynſt the Kinge himſelf, the Maſter of Gray, Mr Archibald Dowglas, and the preachers; and amongeſt the reſt, iiijth of this inſtant, there were two ſett vpp at my lodginge very odiouſe and deteſtable ageynſt the Quenes Maieſtie, the coppie wherof I haue ſent you here incloſed; which two I toke of, and the one I gave to the Secretary to ſhewe the Kinge, the other Mr Robert Carye hath to ſend to my Lord Chamberleyne. And truly I fynd, for all this ſturr, that the Secretary is very well incliened towards her Maieſtie, and a favorer towards the mayntenaunce of peace and amitie, and the Kinge hymſelfe alſo. But towchinge the ſendinge awaye of Embaſſadors into other countries, they are not yet fully agreed; and towchinge the Maſter of Gray and his doings, your Honor ſhall heer more in Roger Aſhton his packquet: and ſo, vntill my next, I humbly take leave, comyttyng your Honour nowe and ever to the protection of th'Almightie, truſtinge you will accept my good will. Berwick, in haſt, the vjth of Marche, 1586.

Your Honours to my power,

Robert Carvyle.

Postscript.—Curcell's man ſtands faſte and firme, and is ready to be employed when I ſhall here from your Honour. It were good that the

Secretary were vſed, for he is very gret. Your Honour ſhall receyve a packquet from Roger Aſhtone.

To the right honorable
Sir Francis Walſingham, Knight,
principall Secretary to the
Quenes moſt excellent Maieſtie.

(INCLOSURE.)

Fruere pro funere fune.

To Jesabell, that Englishe heure,
Receyue this Scottishe cheyne,
As presagies of her great malheur,
For murthering of oure Quene.

The cheyne was a litle corde off hempe tied halterwiſe.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

My Lord, I wreit wnto yowir Lordſhip in my laſt letters, ſwme purpoiſs concerning the Maister of Gray *maq thxomqf ſr vfhk*, qwhairof I have gottine no anſweir as yeit, and therfoir will ſuſpend my jwgment of þat maeter till I heir yowir Lordſhips opinione in particwlar, alwayſs (*ut candide cum amicis agam*). Trew it is that he is becume ane werrie great ennemie to yowir Quins maiestie, your contrie, and al your procedings, *egxco thxqomxq, kſgf nſcmfxq, hcp hb kſgf dffnqpxcvo*, and thinks heir-

[1] From the original in the Harleian MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 292, fol. 54. The secret writing is decyphered in another hand, written immediately above the cyphers as here given.

efter till follow fwirth his firſt cowirs be all mins poſſibill, and ſua to gif no occatione *mſ maq nhmaſbxyo mſ txomfgom ſr axt*, qwha, as yeit, haes no ſik confidens in him as is requiſit to effectwat aeny gwide twrne. For the qwhilk cawſs, efter matwer deliberatione, aeſtiming his ſtanding to conſiſt in doing of ſume notable twrne, *ms maq hghcotqcm ſr maq nhmaſbxy fqbxvxſcq, ſf hbmqfhmxſcq ſr maq dfqoqcm hqomqxm*, he accwmpaniet me with his *bqmmqfo ſr nfqpxm mſ maq qfb ſr agcmbxq; egah, lqxcv hcq dfqnqxo nhmaſbxy*, miſlyks alſua of þe preſent aeſteit and governement, and haes the hoill nobill maen of this contrie bandit togither till aſſiſt, perſeu, and defend with him, and he with þem, in all his and thaer acteis, ſik as *nfhrqfp tſcmfſxo thfxonahb ſvxbgk yhqfncqo ogmaqfbhcpq ohbmſgcq qbrxcomſgcq rſflqo vfhk*, with þe graeteſt pairt of owr Hielands, and all the barons and contrie maen. He offerit, in his letter and be me, to lay ane plate (hawing his aſſiſtance) *mſ bqm ſgf yxcv ſgm ſr maxf thqco ahcpo*, and ſo nocht only to mwif his *thxqomxq* to tak aerms agaenſt *xcvbhcpq, egahxfgdſcq bxlqfmxq ſr nſcnxqco ogbp cqooxohfbxq rſbbſg*, bot alſua to perſwaid him to tak jwrnay to *rfhcnq*, þat thereby all things micht attein to þaer deſyrit effectis. I traevelit with *tk bſſp agcmbxq* in this purpois, qwha was moir þan willing þerto, and werrie cwriwſs to knaw the *rſftq ſr mahm dbhmq;* in particular promiſen all kynd of aſſiſtance to þe forderance of the ſaming þat cwld be reqwryit. For the quhilk caws, nocht hawing þat in commiſſione, he wreit bak with me letters fwll of credit to *maq thxomqf ſr vfhk*, hawing promiſit þat ane of his maiſt ſpecialls, *nhdxmhqc yhf*, qwha is ane *gqaqtqcm nhmaſbxy*, ſuld haif folwit me with expeditione, þat he and I micht haif ſpokine with þe *thxomqf* at lenthe in þat purpoiſs. Alwayſs at my bakcwmine maeters wafs alterat, and maen pwt by þaer dyet, pairtlie be his Maieſtie rydinge wpone my Lord Max-

Maisters disgraece,
wall, and pairtly be the *thxomqfo pxovfhqnq*, qwha haes nocht bein at court ſens; and yeit he aſſuris me þat his diſgraece is nothing els bot po-
Secretaer his ennemie, and thir lørds Angus and Mar,
licie to pleiſs the *oqnfqmhqf axo qccqtxq, hcp maxf bſfpo hcvgo hcp thf,*
Plat vas,
qwha haes alredie conſaewit ane jalwſie agaeniſt him. The *dbhm gho,*
that the King sould have beine drauin to Dunfermling, accumpaniet
mahm maq yxcv oſgbp ahgq lqxcq pfhgxc mſ pgcrqftbxcv, hnngtdhcxqm
vith sik of his auin domestiks as war for the purpois;
gxma oxy ſr axo hgxc pſtqomxyo ho ghf rſf maq dgfdſxo; and ſo to haif
my lord of Huntlie,
perſuadit his Maieſtie to haif wretine for *tk bſſp ſr agcmbxq*, qwha ſulde haif beine with all his forcis alredie cwming fordwarte for þat effect, ſua
the King
þat *maq yxcv* ſuld newer haif knowine the weritie of þat interpryſs qwhill the twrne haed bein doing, and maeters ſatlit, bwt ony hazarde or daenger
his Majesties auin persone;
of *axo thxqomxqo hgxc dqfoſcq;* qwhilk, bwt dowt, compellis him to temporriſs farder with þir lords þat ar abowt him, þan wþerwayfs he wald doe ;
the Erl of Huntlie,
for hawine diſcuwerit ſik attempts of *maq qfb ſr agcmbxq*, and wþeris,
feir faci-
maide his Maieſtie foircein, and þat, aſs is ſupponit, rether by *rqxf rhnx-*
letie or craft,
bqmxq ſf nfhrm, they think it nocht nidfwll þat his Maieſtie be in aeny wayſs forrein of thaer proceiding, being affurit to haif his fawoir and gwid
My Lord of Huntlie
will qwhainſoewer thaer conſpiracies ſall be effectwat. *tk bſſp ſr agcmbxq* at his goine to court, the xx day of Apryll, waſs ſtaeyit be ane chaerge of the Kings maieſtie; and yeit cam fordwart wpone the affurance of ane
letter of his Majestis prively convoyit to him, ane
bqmmqf ſr axo thxqomxo dfxgqbk nſcgſkxm mſ axt, qwhair he was *hcq*
nicht be the vay in Dunfermling vith the Maister of Gray,
cxnam lq maq ghk xc pgcrqftbxcv gxma maq thxomqf ſr vfhk, and ſwld be þaer in his Lordſhips bakcumine; at qwhait tym fwll reſolwtione will be taen of all pwrpoiſes befur ſpecifiet. Wpon þaer reſolwtione, I ſall nocht feill till adwertifs yowir Lordſhip in haeſt, togither with ony wther thing of importance þat ſall occwr in þis meintyme. There is graet appirance of ane alteratione at þis preſent, and þat in reſpect of the graet miſcontentment, togither with his Maieſtie is wpone þe point to pas his yeirs of rewocatione. Qwhaitſuewer the King haes done aſs yeit with France, the Catho-

liks heir haes no howpe of it. The Secretar puts the laerd of Fintrie *oqnfqmhf dgmo maq bhqfp fr rxcmfxq* in ane graet opinione þat he ſall mwif the King to goe the Fraence *maq yxcv mf vfq maq rfhqcnq nfgfo*, be ye quhilk affurance Fintrie *rxcmfxq* did qwhait he cwld to haif renewit þe frindſchipe twixt þem, quhilk waſs nocht effectwat. Fintrie *rxcmfxq* wreit into France in þe ſaid Secretars favors to the Bischoipe of Glasgu *oqnfqmhfo rhgffo mf maq lxonafxdq fr vbhovg* and wþeris, bot his letters war interceptit, and he haed in þe laes aeſtimatione in reſpect of his ower graet ſimplicitie. Remitting þe reſt to yowir Lordſhips diſcretione and anſweir, hawing my hwmble dewtie rememberit unto yowir Lordſhip, committs yowir Lordſhip in Gods holy protectione, the xxvj of Apryll, 1587.

Yowir Lordſhips awine to be commanditt
with ſervice,

876 ††

To my verrie gwid Lord,
Sir Francis Walſineghame,
Secretarie to the Qwins Majeſtie
of Inglande.

SIR HENRY WEDDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.[1]

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . the convoye of y . .
. . . . . and the xij[th] he returned to towne, and brought no anſwere of thoſe letteris, becauſe the tyme was not convenient nor the [King] and Counſell at leaſure; for that upon the x[th]

[1] Cott. MSS. Caligula. D. 1, fo. 206. Unfortunately the volume of MSS. marked Calig. D. 1, is very imperfect, being so much injured by fire as in many places to be illegible. The words within brackets are conjectural readings.

of this inſtant the Maſter of Graye and Sir William Stewarde were brought before the King and Counſell, wher the Maſter was an hower and a half in ſecret conference with the King, and the [King], comynge from the Maſter of Graye, called all the Counſell and the noblemen togither; where both the Maſter [of] Graye and Sir William Stewarde were brought face to face before the King and Counſell and whole nobilitye, where Sir William Stewarde accuſed him of certen points of treaſone. [One] was, that he pretended to have ſlaine the Lord Secretarye, wherby the Court might have bene changed, and the King delivered to the northern Lordis; an other, that he wrote a letter ſecretlye to her Maieſtie, that if ſhe determyned to execute the Quene, þat it myght be done cloſely and qu[ietly]; and finallye, that all his proceadings were un . . . . diſſimulacion with his Maieſtie; and that the Earl of Huntley and the Lord Claude were of the [partie] with the Maſter for the killinge of the Lord Secretar: Who chardged him before the King that he lyed falſelye, or any other that would take his parte, to avouche that matter of the [murder], and that if he had bene ſufficient invocat, they would have proved themſelves upon him; chardging him he was ever accompted no[thing] but a lyar and murderer himſelf.

And ſince they were noe other would witneſſe with him . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
who was his informer and . . . . . .
ſaid George was brought in, and . . . . . .
he had informed Sir William Stewarde of any . . . . .
who flatlye anſwered he lyed, and ſaid that . . . . .
beinge as good a gentleman as he ever was, he would prove it uppon hym that he fa[lſely] belyed him. So that Sir William Stewarde has greatlye diſcredited himſelf.

The King ſeameth to be greatlye diſpleaſed with the Maſter of Graye, and hath given him [in charge] to the Earle Huntley. And if the Lordis had not ſtoode well with the Maſter, yt is thought the King would have ſtricke of his heade.

The Maſter of Gray was carryed to Edenburgh caſtle to pryſon againe that night, as [was] Sir William lykewiſe.

There examinacion the firſt day contynewit from twoe in th'afternoone till 9 at night; and the next day following thei were to be brought before the King, Counſell, and Lords againe.

For the next dayes proceading, as yet I heare not further of yt, but by the next your Honour ſhall underſtand more at lardge of [the] wholle procedings, as I ſhall receave inte[lligence].

The wholle nobylitie is in Courte at the . . . . . and have bene ever ſence the ij of this monthe, ſave only th'erle of Anguiſhe, who is not . . . . . but . . . . . .
. . . . . the . .
. . . . . for the .
. . . . . that the K. myndeth . .
. . . . . from him.

And ſo for this tyme I remyt your Honour to the protection of th'Almighty. Burwik, the xijth of Maye, 1587.

Your Honours moſt humble,

HENRY WEDDRYNGTON, K.

To the Right Honourable
Sir Francis Walſingham, Knight,
principall Se[cretary] to her Maieſtie,
and [one of her] Highnis moſt
Honourable Privie Counſell.

INDICTMENT AGAINST PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, MAY 23, 1587.[1]

COMPERIT Mr Dauid M^{c}Gill of Niſbet, Aduocat to our Souerane lord,

[1] From PITCAIRN's Ancient Criminal Trials, Vol. I. Part 3, p. 157.

and produceit the Dittay after ſpecefeit, and deſyrit proces; of the quhilk the tenour followis.

Dittay againſt the Maiſter of Gray.

Patrik Maister of Gray, Ȝe ar indytit and accuſit, that ȝe haif laitlie, within þe ſpace of þis ȝeir bypaſt writtin, delt and travellit to France for ſindrie materis preiudiciall to þe Religioune preſentlie profeſt be our Souerane lord and his ſubiectis; and therefore, to haif had libertie of conſcience, or otherwyis to ſy [ſay] forme of Religioune, to haif bene vſit att ewerie manis awin appittite within þe realme; incontrair þe tennour of þe Actis of Parliament; incurrand þairthrow the panis contenit in þe ſamin. *Secundlie*, Indytit and accuſit, that during þe tyme foirſaid, he hes intendit to deill with ſum perſonis in France, that be þair moyane, throw his informacioun, our Soueranis mariage with þe King of Denmarkis dochtir (being ane deed honeſt and lauchtfull in preſens of God and men) mycht haif bene ſtayit; takand thairthrow vpoun him, without ony warrand, forder thane becumit ane ſubiect of his dewtie to haif done; ſpeciallie, in that his intentioune tendit to þe hindrance of þe Kingis mariage, being ane act proffitabill to þe commoun welth of þis realme. *Thrydlie*, Indytit and accuſit, for þe vndewtifull wryting of lettres, concerning the eſtait of his Maieſtie and þe realme, in Ingland; without his Maieſties knawledge or command; thairthrow exceding far þe dewtie of ane ſubiect. *Ferdlie*, Indytit, that he hes travellit in materis quhilk mycht haif deſtroyit the eſtait of þis realme; quhilk trawell, gif it had tane effect, his Maieſteis perſon mycht haif bene indangerit, committing þairthrow the cryme of Treſſoune. *Fyftlie*, Indytit, for counterfitting of þe Kingis ſtamp,[1] and putting of the ſamin to ane letter writtin with his Maieſteis awin hand, without his command or auctoritie to do þe ſamin; and ſiclyke, for retening and keping of þe ſamin ſtamp in his handis. *Saxtlie*, Indytit for diuers and ſindrie vtheris offences and crymes of Treſſoun, alreddie declarit and confeſt be him to his Maieſteis ſelf; quhairof he is giltie; quhilk he can nocht deny. Lyke as, the haill pointis of Dittay

[1] A *caschet* or stamp, bearing a fac-simile of the King's signature.

aboue writtin ar of veritie, as he can nocht deny þe famin, nor na pairt þairof.

The ſaid Patrik Maiſter of Gray offerit himſelff and become in oure Souerane lordis will and mercie for the ſaidis crymes.

JAMES GRAY TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

My gud Lord Hamiltone hes heme haertlie comendit to your Lordſhip, for he cane nocht meruell of your lang ſtay: trewlie ye hewe heme alſs fare to do yow freindſchip as ye hewe any mane in the vorld. His Maieſtie hes takin deliberatione to ryd . . . . . is ordenit for theme is extirpatione. This day his Maieſtie beginnis and wowis to God, nocht to ly ane nicht quher he is ane vthere, till they be all baniſcit Scotland . . . . . gif you ver to mak ſpeid, I think yeit ye ſall try and in tyme . . . . . firſt is to be pute to the . . . . vill ouer paſs I think als mikill as ſall ſerfe for yowr returne befor ferrar be med in the north. I veis ye vere heir agane, thene, in caece ye ver veriet, ye micht tak repoſs in your awin houſs of Dunfermling. Bring all the horſs vith yow ye cane purches, for they ar meruelus ſkant heir. His Maieſtie is meruelus weill plaeſit vith my Lord Hewme. I hewe no regret bot of my Lord Bothuell. I truſt ye ſalbe the firſt mane to procure his pardone, albeit, in trewth, he hes done yow ſome wrang at this tyme, yeit vithin thiſe fewe dayis he hes gifen me aſſurans be his letter, that his doing vith the Erll of Huntlie is rather for your veill nor eny vther reſpek in the vorld, in ſo fare that my Lord Huntlie wilbe als glaed to gif yow your awin as ye vold be to reſewe it: quhen euir my Lord Huntlie think, I know it to be trew that my Lord Bothuell hes this promiſs of heme. He hes, at ſundrie tymes, ſpokin verie fauorablie to myſelf in this ſaime mater, bot, thankis to God, ve ſall nocht now be ſo fare in

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1. art. 176, fo. 364. James Gray was the brother of the Master. He was for some time one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber. The date of the year in James Gray's letters is wanting; but the circumstances they relate, particularly the King's surprise at Halton, show that they were written in 1589.

his [pouer]. As for me, I proteſt before God, he mycht a gifin faere vords to heme: he mycht a perſuadit more effellie to beleif theme nor me, for he hes comit to his litill bok no litill falſate. For God ſaek mak ſpeid in your cuming. God be vith yow . . . . . one horſbak in gryte haeſt, this morning the xj of Apprylle, [1589].

J. Gray.

JAMES GRAY TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

My Lord, I reſauit your Lordſhips letters, being vith my Lord Hewme in hyg . . . . . intentione to hewe ſtayit his reſolutione tuiching his preſent parting of the cu[ntrie] to the tyme ve had hard farder from your Lordſhip; quherin his Lordſhip, as in all the offers conſerning your veill, hes ſchewin heme ſelf moſt lowing and ry . . . . . He veil yeit ſtay wpone your returne tuentie dayis, and at that tyme . . . . as ye ſall think meit, no mane is abill to retard his deliberatione [but] ye onlie. I veill maiſt erniſtlie requyſt yow to mak haeſt in your cuming: yowr linggeringe going hes done yow harme, yeit yowr preſens will help all that hes bein, and is ſic as neceſſarilie mene mane knaw quher to find theme ſo trowlie the treweſt freindis, as I may ſaye, in conſtant loyall behauore, ne ſu[ch] in this cuntrie hes better. I ame nocht ignorant quhow fare ſundrie of yowr f[reindis] hethe bein intyſit be faere conditions and offeris to hewe bein drawin by y[ow], bot the hope they hewe of yowr future preſens incuragis theme agains the [fal]ſattis of yowr enemies preſent. For Godis ſaek tempt theme no more, [but] be queik in yowr returne, that ve may tak a cours agreabill to [yowr] ſerwice, and meit for our awin ſtandinge. The tyme, in my appeirans, is verie proper for this purpos. Mene heth ſo fare imbarkit theme ſelfis directlie agains [his] Maieſtie, that the lowed ſound of there retraet ſall nocht be hard. My Lord [Bothwell], tho expreſlie aganis his Maieſties comand, and agains his awin promiſs be vord a[mouth] befor his parting, and ſins, hes cum to Dunfirm-

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art. 205, fol. 409.

ling, as is thocht to hewe ref[cuit] his Maieſtie there from ſic as ves appoyntit to hewe takin his Maieſtie, being at his hunting and paſtyme in Haltone, quher his Maieſtie ves diſpoſit to hewe ſ[tayit] aucht or tene dayis; bot vpone the aduertiſment of this, ſuddenlie in [the nicht] this laſt Sunday come to this towne; quhilk hes diſapoyntit all ther [ſchemes] this tyme, ſo that ewerie vne ſuſpectit to be vpone this attempt hes thi . . . ſend there excuſis to his Maieſtie; bot there partis reſtis to be tryit, and his [Maieſtie] veill nocht paſs theme owir in ſilens. My Lord Bothuell in this mater . . . . how yowr abſens hes bein ſumquhat abuſit; and hes bein vpone the ſerv[ice] of ther maters, nocht ſo mikill for veill of the cauſs, nor leuſe of [thoſe] he is in fallowſhip vith, as fore deadlie inwy he baeris the Chancler. Bot ye knaw ye may laed heme be the noſs, and trewlie I val[d haue] yow the ſouner heir for his cauſs. I thinke ye ſalbe the firſt to mak paece. Yowr longe ſtay cane nocht aneuch be admird of all this cu[ntrie]. Gif ye ſuld cum poſt, I hope ye ſall nocht cum ſo . . . to reſaue yowr . . . is my Lord ſalbe redie to delyuer it, and that for his gud be . . the diuiſione is the ſame ves at Striueling Raed, except in my Lord Bo[thuells] perſone, and in my Lord Glamis, quha is detenit . . . bot there i . . . . diuouris gif my Lord Chancler and he be nocht in ſound dealling, certene [it is] the Chancler and Juſtice Clark ar agreiit, and that be Sir . . . Meluelis mediatione. The Chancler renders yow haertlie thankis for yowr frenſ[chip]. He vretis none to yow, for that ewerie [day] he loukis aftir yowr ſelf. Vord ves heir certenlie tene dayis . . . . . in . . . . or Englos and yeit . . . . . .

. . . . . .

The cauſs quhy I hawe bein ſo lange a vretting [is] becauſe his Maieſties being at paſtyme, quher the Chancler culd nocht be hed, bot maer be cauſe I vold hewe ſowme ſewre intelligens of thiſe thingis [quhilk] hes bein of [late,] ſins the reſet of yowr laſt letters, in brewing. I am of the Chanclers mynd in that. I knaw nocht quhat to vret to yow till yowr cuming, ſaef vne thing, that it is meiteſt ye cum, in reſpect ye ſalbe velcum bothe to the eſtaet ſpirituall and temporall, I . . in particulare by many of theme ſelfis. The cauſs I vrot ſo ſuddenlie with Mr Richard

Douglas, ves for that I thocht aſſuredlie my letter ſuld hewe cum to yowr handis at Beruik, or at leaſt betuixt that and Londone. I pray forget nocht that gentilmanis curteſie, [for] trewlie ye ar mikill oblift to heme. I hewe ſend for my Lord . and yowr vyfe, according to the directione of yowr letter. Sche ſall da[ell vith] my Lord hir fathir in the mater ye vrot of, bot I ſai . . . his recidens be verie ſchorte heir. I fear to trubill yow vith ewerie nathlie triffill at this tyme: theis ſall abyd yowr [leiſure] at yowr returne. I juge this ſame letter ſall gif yow rancunter be the vay, or gif it do nocht, I pray yow that my nyxt do it. So, my verie humbill ſer[wice] rememberit to yowr Lordſhip, I comit yowr Lordſhip to Gods euir[laſting] protexione. Frome Courte, this xiij of Appryll, [1589].

Your Lordſhip lowing brother
aluayis to be commandit
vith ſerwice,

J. Gray.

Sundrie yowr Lordſhips frends avatis yowr cuming in this towne, and vill all meit yow at Beruik.

[Excuſe] I pray your Lordſhip, both the vret and [ſpelli]ng, for it ves done in gryt haeſt, [and] paper culd nocht be hed.

For the Maſter of Gray of Scotland,
preſentlie at Londone.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

My Lord, I muſt vyſſet you with my lynes as often as I can get convoy. Yeſterday cam in before the Kyng and Councell divers great men of

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 395. Thomas Fowler seems to have been the English resident or envoy at the Scottish court.

power that lye rownd abowt Huntleyes lands and Arroles, as Malcontoſhe, the Laird of Graunt, all the Forbaſſes and Dromonds, Frendrathe, and others; and geven in theyre hands, and oſtages (that be caryed with the Kyng), that they ſhall proſecute and aprehend all traytors in this jornay confederat with Huntley, and hathe ſpeciall names of pryncypall men ſet downe. The pryncypall howſe of Arroll, called Slanes, a xvj myles from this towne, is furniſhed with a garryſon, and kept for the King. Huntley is ſtraytly kept, and therefore diſcontent, and makes meanes to be banyſhed, and offers cawſyon of any noble men in great ſomes, that he ſhall neyther deall with ſtraungers to moleſt this country, nor religion in it, nor ſhall ever returne withowt lycence obteyned of the Kyng. He wold fayn be gon, and ſum great ones of thes noble men wold have it grant, as the Lord Hamelton for one; but it is now ſet down, that he ſhalbe arayned and found gilty of treſon thereafter; they will take farder order. But if he get lowſe by baniſhment, I lyke it not, and dothe what I can to perſwade the contrary. I pray your Lordſhip haſten the cominge of ſuche a one hether as I have wryten *of before, and all ſhalbe well; for thys nobyllitie* [*are*] *afrayde to toche him in blud. For owght that I ſee they meane to arayne him* and fynd him gilty, but to ſtay judgment. What that ſhold meane I know not well. I perceave ſum of this party hathe aſſured him abſolutely for his lyffe and lands, which, they ſay, they dyd to get him. In all wayes the Kinge is free of any condiſyon with him. Yeſterday allſo was a petycyon preſented to the Kinge and Cowncell, to lyſence the Maſter of Gray to cum in. The Kinge aunſwered it, that at Edenbrough, at a generall convencyon, it was ordered that all Papiſts ſhold avoyd the country, and that frome thence forthe not any Scots man that was abrode in other cowntrye, and knowne to be affected with papyſtry, ſholde [come] home, nor enter into this realme, before the Kirke [was] ſatyffyed of theyre ſowndnes in religion, and . . . . . interſeſſors for them, and the Maſter of Gray eſpecyallie [was] intended in this decre, which was proclaymed in all cittyes and burrowes of Scotland; therefore he will not graunt the ſayd Maſter his entraunce before that order were performed, for he wold not breke ſo [good] a purpoſe. So I perceave theyre will be ſum ſtay his coming in. This is all at this tyme.

Yet ſence is aryved here Mr James Hudſon, who [was] with the Kinge and Chancellour about the ſayd Maſter of Graye. The Chancellour beinge perſwaded of his Maieſties lykinge, and ſum good folkes of his cominge perſwaded preſently lyk . . . for it, with proviſyon that he ſhold ſatiffy the [Kirk] within forty dayes, and the Chauncellour is reſolved that the Maſter kepe a good cowrſe with him. He will uſe co . . . . . This day we remove to Donotter, the Erll [Marſchalls] howſe, and ſo on to Sterlyng and to Edenboroghe. God preſerve your Lordſhip. This laſt of Aprill, 1589. Haberden.

Your Lordſhips loving frend and
cowſſen to command,

T. Fowler.

It is geven out here ſecretly by Bodwells frends, that not withſtanding all this rule he makes, his hatred to Ingland in his unreverent ſpeches of hir Maieſtie, that there is an intercowrſe of dealing by letters betwene the Lord Chamberlayne and him, which the Chauncelour and others marvells at, if it ſholde be true, but can hardly beleve it, and I perſwade to ſome it is a device to ſhew his credit.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

. . . . . .

the treuthe of our eſtait vitche I fand [to be very] different from that I did accompt it to be, for I perceave a greater difficultie then I lukit for [from] the perſecutioun of theis Rebelles, be reaſoun of the King my maſters ſumquhat to paſſionat affectioun towardis them for ſum particulaire reſpects, vitche, as the Chancellar affirmis, did grou from the ſtories vſit be the Queen your ſouveraine in that maiter: for in the begining haid any man of ſperit bein ſend hither, the Kings neceſſitie, vith the concur-

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art 189, fol. 382. The commencement of this letter is wanting.

rence of the veil diſpoſit noble men about his Maieſtie, [would haue] moveit him for to accord to quhatſumeuer ſhould have bein demaundit. Bot the tym paſt, and the rebellis haid ſo many freindis about him, that they ſubmittit themſelfis [to] a forme of entering. Yet albeit the King ſeimit not to deal in any capitulatioun vith them: he moueit the noble men abowt him to giue vnto the rebelles promeis of lyf, [liberty], and goodes; the promiſers ver Lordis Hamiltown, Angus, Mar, Morton, Heume, Maraſchall, and Maſter of Glammiſs. The [Lord] Chancellar found in theis, if farther ordre ver not taken, verie great danger; and yet vould not ſeim to be the doer of it, bot moveit the King to convein his Eſtaits; quhere the [thing] being propoſit, it ves concludit that the Rebelles, ſo maid coulpable of thair fact, be keipt ſtrictly and fr . . . . the firſt point ves performed, by Huntly his ſubmiſſioun, and confeſſing of treaſonis, and by Bothuell and Crauford thair convictioun by ane affyſe of thair peires . . . . . ſtrict keeping; it is there they be yet priſoners . . . . . of inhabilitie. Treuly thair is no appearence . . . . . I may tell in my particulaire, for in a maiter . . . . . by Huntly vitche apperteinethe to me, the King hes [ſaid, he] vill in Godes [name] prefer no man to him. So that, to vryt plainly, I ſee no appeirence that any of the 3 pointis concludit in conventioun ſtratlie execut agenſt . . . . . from our ſelfis, and in this I knou ſume men, inclined to do our Chancellar good, haithe hermit him for to . . . haue maid his credeit ſutche vith the King, that quhat he pleaſethe he may get done. Bot in this they ar [ſtran]gers bothe in the Kings awin naturell, and in our eſtait . . . vill affur your Lordſhip, the Chancellar quhat he may [do he] vill, bot all he vould, he may not: for the Lord Lennox is nou a man, and accomptit for his aige a g[reat] diſſimuler and reaſonablie acute. He beginnethe to have intereſt in the Kings ear, and of naturall inclinatioun he . . . . rune to the courſe, and freinds, for dyverſis reſpects, thois Rebelles, vitche is no ſmall impediment to . . . thing the Chancellar of him ſelf could propone . . . maiter one vther thair is, the Maſter of Glamiſs . . . the eſtait in ſutche termes, that if he ver greit with the Chancellar, he lukethe to fall in his place . . .

moveit him factiouſly to fil the Chancellars rume. He indirectly deallis vith Huntly and ſume of his fo[lloweris]; ſo, that appeirand to be ennemie, quhatever he ſayeth it tendethe for Huntlyis avantage;—to the King he ſeimethe to ſpeik it for the Kings veil, and veil of eſtait . . . . . auin diſpoſitioun inclyning thairto. In ſorte he is in a maner the vphoulder of Huntly . . . . reght. This fare I doubt if it be plainly . . . . your men heir, for your Embaſſadour is accomptit ſumquhat ſimple for our eſtait; and when men [ſette] one a ground, if it tuitche the King his Maieſtie in co[nſcience, it] deſolves him from it, vitche I haue not of . . . . for that I nauer as yet haue practiquet the m . . . bote of the Chancellar, and a nombre of vther [veill] villars, vho vould be glaid, from thair . . . . . that ſume man of countenance ver ſend hither . . . extremitie of juſtice nou can not be haid, that pointes reſoluit by eſtaites micht be crauit to be . . vitche vithout doubt ſhalbe grantit, for the K[ing] is ſutche, that at this tym he vill not refuſe her Maieſtie your ſouveraines reaſonable petition . . . beſyd this, the Chancellar vill advyſe your L[ordſhip] and the King bothe, in maiters he can not propone himſelf, by reaſoun, as I haue ſaid, he is greu . . . . . both directly and indirectly, for ſutche a propo . . . . . findis noe man fitter then Mr Robert Boues, for [one knowin] in our affaires is requiſit, and for ſo ſcho . . . imployement ſmall moyens for a great good M[aſter] his inhabilitie. Remitting aluayis the choiſe of that to your Lordſhips vyſdome, bot one is neceſſarely requiſit . . . vitche any thing to be performed. As for the . . . . . that I could . . . In it . . . . . durſt not haue medlit in it, for the day befor . . . this toun, the holl merchandis in concurrence maid [head] and boſtit my Lord Hamiltoun and Chancellar, becauſe they oppoſit them ſelfis to the marriage; ſo that I am lothe to ſpeik in it, and I think I ſhall . . . . affectuat, for the King craueis ſo great maiters bo[the in this] and vther pointis, that I doubt if they . . . . to performe it, and in this country thair be

verie [few] noble men inclynable to it. I vould haue vrytten to her Maieſtie particulairly quhat the King haithe ſaid to [me in] that maiter, bot I forbear, for that I haue not delt in vther pointis vith him, bot by Mr Hudſon, vho ſhalbe deſpetchit towardis her Maieſtie. Vithin fyue or ſix [days], I ſhall, God willing, aduertis her Maieſtie of all thingis, and more particulairly then goodly, I may at this tym by reaſoun of ſume heaſt. I feare her Maieſtie tak not veil that the money ſche ſend to the King for [the] greater pairt, is deſtyneit to th'Earle Marchall for [defraie of] his voyage in Denmark, bot ſche ſchall not blam [the] Chancellar for it, nor haithe ſche any cauſe. Reſ[talrig will] aduertis your Lordſhip, that all the jalouſies conceiuit of me proceedit of ſume opinioun they haid that I ves go[verned] by Mr Archibald Douglas. And thairfor I pray your Lordſhip, the treuthe wer to ſchau how, when for malice Mr Archibald vould haue calumniat the Chancellar, I told your Lordſhip the ſimple treuthe. This I pray your Lordſhip vryt to Mr . . . . . Mr Aſchby, whither from negligence or ſume . . . fauorably of me, he neuer vtterit the ſame . . . bot I am not to be a ſore accuſer of it, for [I] hoyp, God willing, to be able to do my awin turn. In the particulaire of Dumfermling, albeit . . . . . be half pairtie as yet, I truſt I ſhalbe . . . . Thus haueing to long troublit your Lordſhip, I [commit you] to Godis holy protectioun. From Edinborrou, [the iiij day] of Junij, 1589.

Your Lordſhips to do you [ſeruice],

P. M. of Gray.

To the Right Honourable
My Lord Bourgley, Lord Heiche
Threaſurer of England, [one] of her Maieſties
of England honorable Counſell.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

My Lord, efter this uther letter wes wrottin, Mr Aſchby, hir Maieſties embaſſador, ſend me on from your Lordſhip, bot, befor the receyt of it, I had taikin leiue of his Maieſtie to go viſſie my father and my hous, ſo that preſently I think I can anſwer it in litle, forther then is alredy conteinit in my other letter: for thair is ſutche unuorthy men about the Kings Maieſtie that honeſt men can nether do nor ſpeik bot is miſconſtructed. Yet within a day or tuo I am to retourne, and then I ſhall concur with the Chancellar; bot I knou he wilbe lothe to deall ether directly or indirectly in ſtay of the mariage with Denmark; for, as I had wrottin the verie day befor I came to this toun, thair aroſe a great . . . . . agenſt my Lord Hamiltoun and him; for he, all noble men and gentlemen, ſave a verie feu particulairs, be altogither inclyning to Navarre. So that my opinion is, bothe for that and other maiters, that Mr Robert Bowes ſould be ſend hither, and indirectly, the Chancellar and my ſelf ſhall advyſe him hou to ſtay the maiter, and her Maieſtie never to acknowledge it; nor yet ſhall it be knowin in Denmark the maiter to proceed from her. And in the mid tym I ſhall deall quhat I can with his Maieſtie, according to the reaſouns ſete doun in your Lordſhips letter, and by Mr Hudſone ſhall mak you advertiſit hou fare I proffit. Bot as I wrot, th'Erle Mareſchall hes alredy receavit a great pairt of the money her Maieſtie ſend to the King, for defraie of his voyage. The charge of this mariage is one Mr Peter Young, [Meſter Almowſer to his] Maieſtie, who ves firſt imployed in the ſame. As for my actiouns, ſo fare as they may extend, ſhall ever be to doo her Maieſtie ſervice, nixt my auin Maſter, and I hoyp the Chancellar will do the ſame, ſo that bothe *propter iſtud ter* . . . . . our auin particulair weilles as your Lordſhip co . . . . . it ſhalbe agenſt my will if we [quar]reil amongſt our ſelfis. I have hard [nothing] from Mr Archibald Douglas of newis, nor wiſch I to heir from him. Bot wold be glaid to [hear] from your Lordſhip if

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. 1, fol. 381.

any be good. So let me comit your Lordſhip to Godis holy protectioun. [From] Edinborrou, this 5 of Junij, 1589.

My Lord, it ſhalbe, in my opinion, verie pertinent [that the] Secretary wryt a letter to the Chancellar, conteining ſome argumentis ſett doun by your Lordſhip, and ſutche a letter [as the] Chancellar may veil ſchaw to his Maieſtie, as proceding from Mr Secretars ſelf.

Your Lordſhips to comand,

M. of Grey.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

. . . . . .
. . . . your Lordſhip to underſtand that ſen . . .
. . . . by the Ambaſſadours convoy tochinge the ty . .
acc . . . Kings maryage, and the reſolucyon upon the ſame, I fynd ſtyll to holde, and the Erll Marſhall preparyng in haſt to goo with the next wynde, for his inſtruccyon is not drawne to a poynt, but ſum of them agreed a . . . . I fynd that the Kinge is caryed by Coronell Stewerd, but ſpecyally by Peter Yonge, in this matter of his maryage, frome the Chauncelour, and all other, ſo far as he comends the delying of the towne of Edenbroroghe, and alowes [it to] procede of zeale and affeccyon they beare him, and to avoyde an extremety lyke to fawle upon themſelves for theyre trade, yet he condemnes them for unreverent ſpeches that the baſer ſort ſhold uſe againſt the Lady of Navar. And ſum other the . . . and theyre raylings agaynſt Ingland, which he wold have had ſum poniſhed for, but there was no partyculer men charged,

[1] Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. 1, fol. 379.

it was ſo generall. The ſayd Stewerd and Yonge hathe put in his hed that the ſyſter of Navar is olde and croked, and ſumthing worſe if all were knowne; and ſettes forthe the vther. So that it aperes the Kinge hathe conceaved a diſlykinge by imagynacyon, which makes the Chauncellor yeld, and allow of his procedinges that way, but is ſorry for it in his hart, and hathe told me in ſecret, that there hath none but fooles dealt in that negocyacyon as yet, ſuche as ar vayne . . . and hoepes to gayne to them ſelues by it; regarding not the good of theyre Maſter, and even now tuo ſuche lyke, but of a higher degree, for the Marſhall and the Lord of Dingewell, that goe with him, will not bothe make a wyeſe man. And their inſtruccyons ſhalbe ſuche as the Chauncelour thinkes they in Denmark will never agree unto: one is, that they ſhalbe bound to furniſhe the Kinge ten thou[ſand] men, payd and armed for ſyx monthes, if he [ſhould nede] to uſe them, for the obteyninge of Ingland after hir Maieſties deſeaſe. It was once agreed on ſo longe as he ſhold nede them. I thinke to get all the wh . . . . ſone as they be drawne perfect, but non is preſent . . . . The ſayd Peter Yonge determined to goe with the [Erll] Marſhall, and the Kinge comends it, and it . . .

. . . . . .

that Yonge . . . . . .

inſtruccyons to himſelfe that ſhalbe more . . . . . .

be not lyked, ſo that they will haue no ſt . . . . . .

matter, but hoopes to brynge hir home with the . . . . .

at his returne, and make no moe ſendings whea . . . . .

It was ſet downe that the Erll ſholde have but . . . . .

the couenants of the maryage, and the Lord Chancellar . . . .

ſhold haue gon for her, the Erll Marſhall is perſuaded by ſum frends, of which in truthe I am one, that Peter [Yonge] will robbe him of all the honour, havynge byn there before, and havinge ſecret inſtruccyons. And now he will not goo at all if Peter Yonge goo, and tells the [King] ſo playnly yeſterday; ſo that yet the matter is not agreed upon. It is wiſhed here by the well [willers] to Ingland, that the Cowncell of Denmarke myght be wrowght to anſwere, they wold conclude no maryage with the Kinge, without the Quene of Inglands conſent; and that the forward

Scots Da[niſtes, that] will take ſo muche upon them, dyſpiſyng that hir Maieſtie ſhold medle in the Kings maryage, may be dryven from theym unleſſe ſhe be pleaſed. The Maſter of Gray hathe com[municate] with me at lengthe; the Chauncelour uſes him well, and they haue had large conferences together, and the King geves him reſonable good countenance, but his credit is lyttel with him. He ſekes alwayes to [obtain] the Abbey of Domfermlynge, at leaſt to haue the [benefitt] of the lawe alowed him, which is ſo reſonable [that] it cannot be well refuſed, and the Chancelour is of [that] opinyon; yet the Kinge hathe made no anſwer: but to me he can never get it by lawe. The Maſter ſpekes exceding well of Ingland, and agaynſt all that be not well affected to the amyté. If he ſo contynew I ſhalbe glad; but he condemnes the hardnes of her Maieſtie, and that ſhe loſes muche there by; and d . . it by reſon in many thinges. I dowt his credit will not be muche here a longe tyme. Thus I deale playnly with your Lordſhip, letting you knowe the [ſtate] of all, reſervyng the reſt to your Lordſhips owne wyſe conclucyon: Allwayes I muſt beſeche your Lordſhip that thes may be kept ſecret. I know the Maſter wrytes [at lengthe, ſo] that myne is the leſſe nedefull; but I muſt be done . . . . . .

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my opinion that it is excedinge nedefull to haue a gentleman of accompt [ſent] hether. And he thinks it wolde ſtand him in good ſted for his owne partyculer. The Erlls ar gon to ſeverall pryſons in the country; Bodwell to Taintallon, Huntley to Bartyke Caſtell,[1] Crauford to St Androies; and every [one] a truſty gentleman with ſum gard for theyre keping. And ſo they reſt without more yet. For other matters I refer to my Lord Ambaſſadors letters. And ſo praying God for your Lordſhipps happy and long lyfe, this 7 of June, 1589. Edenbrowghe.

This day the Capteynes of the Vangard and Tygar hathe byn a borde and with the King, who takes it marveylowſe kyndly that they were apoynted to offer him ſervice, and is not a lyttell prowde that he uſed them well; but the villanouſe baſe pe[piſts] and Spanyerds together myſuſed ſum of the people, and ſlue a tromp«tour; whereupon the King

[1] Borthwick Castle.

was extreme angry, and willed me that a demaund ſhold be put in to the Cowncell for iuſtice, and it wold be graunted, for ſo he wold ſee it. Wheare upon I told the Ambaſſador, who had made ſum other requeſtes before the diſorder of the bo . . . and how ever the matter goes, was lyttel regarding. At his requeſt I became his ſecretery, and drew him ij requeſtes to preſent to the Kinge and Cowncell. It may be they will do more good then other wayes wold, for I haue convinced the King to ſee juſtice done, and the Ingliſhe m[en] well uſed, beinge the ſubiects, not only of his good Syſter and neyghbor prynces, but to accompt her his mother, maynteyner and upholder, protectour and defender, ſo, bleſſed by God, that the lyke of her for ſo many yeres cannot be red of in thes cowntry, and who hathe byn ſo miraculowſly preſerved [agaynſt] all devellyſhe devyſes of man, that he might . . . God wold preſerve hir Maieſtie to the end. He alowed of my ſpeche excedinge well . . . . . .

Your Lordſhipp hu[mble ſervant]
at comawndment . . .
lyffe . . .
T. Fowler.

Mr Archebald hathe wrytten hether ſpightfully agaynſt the Maſter of Gray.

To the Right Honorable Lord Burleyghe,
the Lord Treſorer of Ingland
—ſped ye vith them.

WILLIAM ASHEBY TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

Of the Maſter of Graye and the Lord Chancellors concuring in on good courſe, it is to be feared; for that there haith ben great enmytie in Court

[1] This article is extracted from Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art. 186, fol. 377, under date 8 June, 1589. William Asheby was the English ambassador at Edinburgh.

heretofore betwixt them; and now the Chancellour hauing the onlie credit, he will hardlie ſuffer a competitour to creep into favour for . . . . *habet* . . . *virtus*, and the Maſter of Graies humour is not here [well] liked.

Your Honour will ſmyle at a pageant now bigon betwixt Mr Arch. Douglas and the Maſter of Gray, who, as I haue hard, ſemed to be great frendes to rune on courſe being in London together; they haue begone to deface on another by lettres, which [haue] ben ſhewed to the Kinge, who makes himſelf [merry] with it. The Maſter of Graye, a litle before

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into Scotland, writeth to his brother here, what an evill courſe and hurtfull to the [King] Mr Arch. Douglas foloweth; and wiſheth he might be caulled whom, for that his being there [is] a hinderance to the King. This lettre was ſhewed to his Heighnes, and a report mad of it to Mr Arch. Douglas by ſome of his frends here. Mr Arch. replies, and points out the Maſter [of] Graye in his coullours: His lettre, in like manner, is ſhewed to the King, who laughes at this ſtrange dealing, wherin thei ſhew what faithfulnes is to be had at there hands: that ſhewing [to] the wourld a kind of frendſhip, and yet going about to cutt on anothers throts by evill reports. Theiſe men maie welbe vſed, but never truſted. Your Honour maie not [let it] be knowen that this cometh from me, till we ſhall ſe ſome of there reſe[ntment], for I thinke thei will not here ceaſſe.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

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. . . . . .

ſo many appeirences of maiteris to fall furthe [that] I dyferrit from day to day to wryt in . . . for ſum certaintie, witche as yet haiſtely I performe. Bot I have ſtayit for a day or . . . Mr Hudſone, and til then [have] ſend their [lines to] let your Lordſhip knou hou that upon

[1] From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 372.

ſume occaſions . . . . thair ſett furthe at my retourne, betuene the [Lord] Chancellar and Maſter of Glamiſe ſume quarrell witche wes occaſiound that no thing wes begun, as wes promiſed at the laſt conventioun by [his] Maieſtie, tuitching the rebelles; for the Maſter of Glamis tuke a plaine deeling for th'Earle of Huntly, and the Chancellar, vnderhand, for Montrois: ſo that [between] the tuo all miſters ver neglected; witche [being] perceaved by ſume honeſt men who hes medlit in this cauſe, they trauelit with bothe the . . . and hes takin up the maiter betuene the Chancellar and the Maſter, ſo that yiſternicht they haue promiſit honeſt freindſchip among them ſelfis, and to procure to joine in the courſe all [noble] men they can, for the ſuppreſſing the witche . . . if this maiter be effectuull betuene them . . . . . good, bot I am affrait. I wryt to your Lordſhip by Mr Hudſone, that the Maſter of Glamiſe is . . We . . . . . his nepheu is to choſe his curatoris, and [of] neceſſitie he wes compellit to ryd from . . . to ſtay for a tym; thairfor thocht it not good to leave behind him ſo great ane ennemie at [Court as] the Chancellar. This is a point I knou to be . . . for he hes ſtayed theis eicht dayis bygone only [for] this purpoſe. Aluais th'effect will give licht . . . I am requyrit my ſelf to enter in this ſame [freind]ſchipe, to the witche I accord moſt willingly . . . . . Th'Earle of Huntly is yet poſſeſt with my [living], and I as yet can have no redreſſe, for I crave indifferent iuſtice according to our laues, witche [I] can not have; for the King him ſelf in perſoun haith procured that the Seſſioun ſhould medle in no proceſſe or actioun apperteining th'Earle of Huntly during his [lying] in ward. So that th'Earle is in better caice nor if he haid never bein traiterous, and better by . . . committing then he wes fre: For this I . . . . . of the Chancellar and the reſt of honeſt men; and men who craveis me in felloufchip, that they . . . . find out the moyen how I may have iuſtice . . . for me, for I know my living dayly offerit . . . I will ſute Huntly for it.[1] In this caice [ſtand] my maiters at this tym. So that ſtraichtly I anſuer your Lordſhip, in

[1] 'The Erle of Huntly in the mean tym was prouydit with the benefice of Domfermeling, quhilk was tane fra the Mester of Gray laitly decourted, and geuen to him.'—*Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, 4to., p. 361.

your auin langage, whither I . . . . . feing I have not yet begon
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
to tak by the hand. I dar not wryt ſo plain as I would, and as I ſhall by Mr Hudſone . . . knou your Lordſhip can not be informed of our werie . . . for they be not knouin to many. Bot if your [Lordſhip haue] not ſume ſufficient man ſend hither, I do aſſur [your Lordſhip] maiters for that eſtait can not go rytly; and if we had heir ſume ſenſible man, your Lordſhip ſould ſee England ſould find freindis; and nou I dare affirme quhair ever thair is one favouring England about his Maieſtie, thair be ten Spainyardis: But Mr Hudſone ſhall informe your Lordſhip, to whom I commit all othir thingis, ſaue to ſchaw your Lordſhip [how] throu finiſtrous men the King thocht not the . . . . . of me for her Maieſties earneſt requyſt: bot her . . . I may kythe my ſelf and knou whom to em . . . . I hopp to redreſs all maiters to my contentment. Mr Archibald Douglas, within theis eicht days [hes] wrot a letter hither to a gentleman for to be ſchown to his Maieſtie, conteining no other thing, ſave [falſate] of me, and my deportment at my laſt being in England, quhairin he tuitchis no les deiply her Maieſtie and all your Lords of Counſell then my ſelf: Thairfor it haithe pleaſit his Maieſtie for to [give] me the letter to ſend to her Maieſtie, to th'end [it may be] ſein quhat handſome ghaiſt ſche enterteinethe. For my pairt, I proteſt the greateſt offence that. . . . . .
. . . . . .
receaue for doing the lyk, for a tryed . . . ſay no more in this, for þat your Lordſhip will conſider of the maiter when as you ſhall [get his] auin letter, witche I ſhall ſend by Mr [Hudſon], as the trouthe, particularly of many pro . . . So I commit your Lordſhip to Godis holy protection. From Edinburch, this 16 of Junij, 1589.

Your Lordſhips to do you [ſervice],

M^r of Gray

I forbear to wryt to her Maieſtie as yet, not having full knouledg of all thingis, bot Mr Hudſone ſchalbe by his Maieſtie deſpatchet the 20.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.[1]

The Maſter of Gray fyndes, as he thinks, hard dealing at the Kings hands; and thoughe the Chauncelour and he agree well in all ſhowe, as much as may be, yet I know (more then many) it is no perfect part with eyther. But it is ſuer the Chauncelour will not go an inche farder then he ſees the King lykes and will alowe; and the King is not to be won in this caice, as partly I have toched it allreddy to your Lordſhip: and, thoughe I preſume to wryt it, the Maſter ſayes and thinks I may doo him more good at the Kings hands, then eyther Chauncelour, or other in this land. And for his well ſpekynge and honorynge of hir Maieſtie, my ſoverayne, I have done my beſt, even very lately, as before. But the King prayes me not to ſpeke for him, nor to deal in his matters, as I love him. I told him it was for his own ſake, not for the Maſter of Grayes, that I ſpoke, for I was fearfull that it ſhould be bruted, bothe here and in Ingland, that he wold be ſo parcyall as to ſtay juſtice, ſpecyally in the favour of ſo great an offendour. He ſtyll ſayes he does it for the [friendſhip] of a yonge lady his doughter, and beloved of his blud; and he truſtes that neyther hir Maieſtie nor Councell will accompt the Maſter and . . . . alyke. Nay, he aſſuers himſelfe of it, and ſayes, 'If they love me, they will not, but [if] they knew him as well as I, they wold not. I will prove I do him no wronge.' I cannot goo much farder in this poynt, becauſe he told me with ſo fayne and good words, and I muſt [mynd] my creddit, which is knowne to be ſome what more then ordinary. To conclude, I ſee no haſty . . . . . for the Maſter.

[1] Extracted from the original, dated 22d June 1589, in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 374.

A SHORTE DISCOURSE, WHEREIN IS SET DOUNE THE VERIE TREUTH OF THE KING OF SPAINE HIS DESIGNE AGAINST THIS HOLE ILE, BY THE MASTER OF GRAYE, 1589.[1]

The vifer forte, and men beſt broken in affaires of all ages, and amonge all natiouns, hes ever accomtit man to be borne, not ſo much for himſelf as for his countrye, the veilfare and libertie whairof to his uttermoſt he is bounde to preas to conſerve; as not only of Grecians and Romans, bot of all other nations, hes done frome the beginning infinite nomber of wiſe and valiant men, whom the luif of thair patrie movit to expon to all kinde of daunger, and loſſe thair ſubſtance, heritages, and thair owin propir lives; whairthrou not onlie men of noble blood ver crounit with perpetuall praiſe, bot many of baſſe lineage ver nobilizit and acquirit immortall fame. Contrary vaies, ſuch as haith bene inſtruments, aithir to troble or to betray thair country, of vhat blood or qualitie ſoever they have bene, or what occaſion ſoever they could pretende ſo to doe, have purchaſit perpetuall infamy and extreeme ruyne, as teſtifies the regiſtars of the lyves both of th'one and th'uther ſet downe in famous hiſtories. By reaſon vhairof, conſidering the preſent eſtaite of this yle, and ſpecially of this country of Scotland, as appeiris at this tyme devydit vithin it ſelf; and knawing that divers noblemen and others, ſome intyſit by corruption, and ſome movit rather of ignorance and blynde zeale, nor of malice, haith bene, and are preſentlie, induſit ſomvhat facilly, ayther to agrye altogeither, or at leaſt to comport vith alterations politickly intendit, partlie under the ſuperficiall pretext of religion, and pairtlie under colour of revenge of the Queenes death.

Grecians. Alcibiades, Themistocles, Epaminondas, Thrasibulus.

Romans. Camillus, Horatius Cocles, Scævola, Fabritius.

Tit. Livius, Appius Alex. Plutarch.

For diſchardge of my duty to his Maieſtie my ſoveraigne, and to my country, having dieply rypit out, and by aſſurit intelligence tryit, the very treuth of the deſigne of the King of Spaine, the only mover of thes im-

Cause of writing this discourse.

[1] Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 155, art. 165, fo. 409.

minent troubles, I have in this ſchorte ſubſequent diſcourſe thocht meit ſummarily to ſett downe the ſame, vithout any farther langage, or inrichment of exemples, bot only to ſchaue the ſimple veritie, for reſolutioun of all that ſchall reid or heare the ſame. Not doubting bot the treuth and efficacie of the reaſouns ſchall ſufficientlie move all indifferent and honeiſt men to doe thair deuty tovard thair Prince and Patrie, for thereby it ſchall evidentlie appeare, that the only occaſioun of this great Spaniſh preparatioun is the conqueſt of this hole yle, let that King cover his deſigne as ſchall pleaſe him, vith the pretendit cavſes, above ſpecifiet, of Religioun and revenge. For although the holle inhabitants of this yle ver of the Romayn religioun, yet yt is not likelie that he ſhould chaunge his purpoſe of conqueſt, or effect thaym more nor he did the Catholicks of the Low Countreys and Portugall, to tham having ſchawin no better favour than yf they had bene Proteſtantes; following the exemple of his father, Emperor Charles the firſt, vho ves not greatlie movit vith love of religioun, or great love to the Catholick church, in taking Pope Clement priſoner, for that he ſeimit rather to favour the King of France nor him, and in uſing the ſaid Pope noe better then if he had bene Martin Luther him ſelf; vith many othyr examples that mycht be inducit to prove, that his progenitors and he hes, at all tymes and occaſiouns, rather reſpectit thair awin commoditie, nor relligioun, and only politickly did uſe yt to ſerve theyr turne. Likeviſe, yt hath noe great appearaunce that he makis theis great chardges and preparatiouns for revenge of the Queine of Scotlandes death, vhois libertie during her life tyme to procure he ves mervellous ſlou: vhich at that tyme haid bene farre leſſe chardgeable nor is nov his preſent interpryſe, vhich, if he may accomplyſh as he intendis, vho ever vithin this yle is moſt affectionat to his courſe ſhall, vithout doubt, finde a Spaniard to be a very evill neibour, and a farre vorſe maiſter. Yet I knoue ſome thair be in this realme vho fyſhes beſt in trovbled vatters, and are enemies to quietnes; bot by thair actiouns they are ſo manifeſtit that I forbeare to expreſſe thair names. To theis I thinke this diſcourſe ſhall not be aggreable, bot I am aſſured be others yt ſchall be veyle lykit of, becauſe, as a deutifull ſubject to my Prince and veill affected to my Country, looking indifferently upon the eſtaite preſent, I haue ſett doun

the ſimple treuth, deſiring the diſcreet reader ſo to thinke thereof vithout all partiallitie.

Thair is noe man ſo ignorant bot may eaſilie perceave the diſſing of the Spainard to have bene, and to be, the overthrou generally of this yle, for th'avancement of his ouin eſtaite, and conſervatioun of his monarchie, as appeared cleerely in the laſt yeares expedition; vhich, be the providence of God, had ſuch event as ves ſufficient to have divertit him from his unjuſt interpriſe, if any admonitioun from God micht have terrifiet him, or movit him to conſidder his deuty. Yit not only is he noe vayes terrifiet be the former admonitioun, bot it is nou notoriouſlie knawin, be dayly moſt certaine intelligence, his ambition to be ſo inſatiable, and his diſſing to be ſo deiply groundit, that he is altogether myndit to proſecut his former attemptat, be farre greater preparatiouns to that effect then of before.

Vhich is noe neu thing either in him or his predeceſſors, as is evident by the hiſtorie of his progenitor, Ferdinand of Aragon, huſband to Iſobella Queine of Caſtill, vho, under pretext to help his tender couſin, Ferdinand King of Naples, againſt Lewis the xij. King of France, being in armes for acquiring of the ſaid kingdome of Naples, as juſt titular thairof, not only did not help his ſaid couſin Ferdinand, bot, be the contrarie, maide a privie league vith the ſaid Lewis, for equall perting of the kingdome of Naples betuein them; and deiply diſſembling his intention, he ſende the great capitain Gonſaluo, as it had bene to help his couſin, vho never utterit his injunctions, till the French armie ves very neere to Naples, vith vhome he joynit than, and expellit the ſaid Ferdinand, and his poſteritie, out of thair kingdome. And not contente of this diviſioun, vhairby he obteynit the better parte of the kingdome, the King of France being paſt the Alpes, and reteiring toward his auin country, he immediatly moves his lieutenant Gonſaluo to take quarrell vith the Duke of Nemours, lieutenant for the King of France, for a licht forgit cauſe, vhair throu at laſt be moving in expectat varre, he conqueiſt th'other half of the kingdome of Naples; and ſo the holle came to his handes, and is poſſeſſit preſentlie be King Phillipp.

Fr. Guic. li. 5. Paul Jovius.

Fr. Guic. li. 7.

The like ve finde of his grandfather, Phillipp Archduke of Auſtria, and

efter King of Spaine, vho of his ouin naturall ves nothing inferiour in ambitioun to the forenamed Ferdinand of Aragon, his father-in-lau, vhom he compellit violentlie to quyt the kingdome of Spaine, and vith great danger of his eſtaite and perſon to vithdraw himſelf to Naples; a ſufficient teſtimonie of his inſatiable minde towardis other Princes dominiouns, in caiſſe he had not bene prevented be untymous death. To vhom ſucceidit his ſoune Charles, the fift Emperour, and King of Spaine, vhois actiouns are ſoe repeut in mens memories, and ſett doun ſoe largelie be divers famous hiſtiographers, that yt ver ſuperfluous to mentionat tham at all: for the league maide againſt him by the holle Princes and potentates of Italie, aftir his unjuſt conqueſt of the Duchy of Millaine, and other principauties, ſufficientlie teſtifies hou fearefull his arrogance and ambitioun ves to the neybor Princes of his aige.

Fr. Guic. lib. 16. Joan. Sleyd.

Nou have we to treat of King Phillipp, who in ambitioun farre ſurmountes his predeceſſors; for, in his very tender aige, he ves not contente of the exorbitant conqueiſt maide be his anceſters, bot, intending to adjoyne thairto the Realme of England, he married Marie, than Quein thairof, vhom he inducit, ſchortlie efter the marriage, to tailie the Crovne unto him, and his airis vhoſoever, fayling ayris gotten betuen them ſelfis: and for obteyning his intente he did uſe Cardinall Poullet [Pole], both for inducer of his ſaid Queine, and for mediator betuein him and the ſubjectis of the Realme, vho, ymmediately upon knowledg of his ambitious minde, altogether, verie viſely, rejectit his ſute. But his ambitioun and crueltie hes utterit the ſelf, no leſs againſt ſome his ouin native ſubjects, chieflie in the Low Countryes, be ymprifonment, blood, and vrack, of infinit nomber of comon peple, and of divers noble men, who had bene at all tymes his cheife favorers, and moſt deutifull ſubjects, as ver the two brether, the Barons of Battenburg; vho, efter longe impriſonment, ver cruelly behedit be the Duke of Alva, his lieutenant. The like, or greater crueltie, he comytted againſt the Countes of Egmont and Horne, th'one being kinſman to the ſaid King, vho not longe before did overthrou, (having chardge of the King), the French armie at St Quintin, and made priſoner the Conſtable of France, then Lieutenant over the French armie: and both the Countes having accompanied him in all his voyages and interpriſes,

Cron. Angl.

Tyrannie in the Lou Countryes.

Guil. Guic. Hist. Belg.

and of his ouin catholick religioun; yit, in recompence of thair good ſervice, vere both beheadit at Bruxells, the vth of June, 1567.

Divers other intollerable cruelties ver comytted by his foreſaid Lieutenant againſt the holle countrye and inhabitants, by raiſing on tham many extraordinary exactions, cuſtomes, impoſtis, exciſes, and ſubſidies; and vorſt of all, intendit to haue preſſit them be the Spaniſh Inquiſition, if thair conſtrainit revolt haid not rejectit his tirannical intention, which ves th'original of the holle troubles that hes contineuit ſince. And of the great cruelties perpetrat in the reſt of the tyme of Duk d'Alva his reſidens thair, in the tyme of Don Johan d'Auſtria, vherin intervenit the lamentable and moſt horrible ſaccagement of that famous cittie of Antwerp. And nou laſt, during the tyme of the government of the Duke of Parma, vherin hes fallin the ruyn of many riche, populous, and famous provinces, citties and tounes, as not only the hiſtories declaires, bot men daylie ſees vith thair eies.

And nou his late conqueiſt in Portugall, vether juſt or unjuſt, I remytt to the judgment of the vyſer and more learned ſorte. Bot I cannot omytte hou unnaturallie his ambitioun tranſported him to hunt for that kingdom; for, vhen his nepheu Sebaſtian, King of Portugall, vas ſuted be the King of Mauritania to aſſiſt him in recoverie of his kingdome from his brother, unjuſt uſurpar thairof, he vold not yeild to his ſuite, unto the tyme he ſoucht to that effect th'adviſe and ayde of his uncle King Phillipp; who not only promiſit him ſufficient help of men and veſchels, but earneſtly pouſed him to proſecute that interpriſe: In hope vhairof, Sebaſtian the King did prepair his armie to paſſe the Straitis, looking daylie for performance of his Uncles promes, vho not only diſſapointit him at the prefixt tyme, in not ſending him ſecours, bot, undir paine of death, inhibited all his ſubjects to accompanie his ſaid nephewe in that journey. So that the yonge Prince vith his armie paſſit the ſea, and vith him Mulei Mahomet, th'expellit King of Mauritania, and encounterit vith ther adverſarie, Mulei Malak, the uſurper King, vhear, after a longe and ſore conflict, all the thrie kinges died; and upon the ſaid Mulei Malak ver letters founde, ſende from King Phillipp, ſchauing he vould not aſſiſte his nepheu againſt him; a verie evident ſigne of his deſire to obtaine that kingdome, knauing that

Hist. Lusit.

King Phillipp his letters against his ovin Nepheu.

his nepheu being cut of, thair ves no man of ſufficient power to pretend any juſt title thair to him, except one man, aigit of 82 yeares, a Cardinall named Henrie of Portugall, uncle both to King Phillipp, and to the laite King Sebaſtian, vho ſchortlie died. And then King Phillipp, throu a procured faction of th'Eſtaites of that countrie, partly by corruption, and partly by faire promiſes, vithout any great difficulty, obteynit his former intent, and ves receaved King. Bot I cannot paſs vith ſilence the recompence vhearvith his favorers and aſſiſters ver gratifiet; for, efter his peaceable receptioun in that kingdom, thay preſentit thair ſuplicatioun, craving, in recompence of thair good ſervice, accompliſhment of his promiſes; vhairon they produced the handvret of his ambaſſadors, vhich he commandit them to preſent vith thair ſupplicatioun before the Colledg of his Judges in Leſbona; and that being done, the Judges gave this decreit following:—

Hist. Anton.

The decreit vherby ver recompensit the King of Spaine his favorers in Portugall.

" King Phillipp being juſt heritor of the kingdom of Portugal, yt ves not leſom to the complenars to ſell the ſame for giftis or promiſes, bot rather for that they offered yt not voluntarilie to the ſaid King, they had incurred the penaltie of thair heades; and if the ſame haid appertainit to Don Antonio, they could not ſell the ſame to the King of Spaine; vhearfor the King is noe vais obligit to the promiſes made unto the complenars be his Embaſſadors; but, uſing his benignitie and clemencie, he abſolves them from the former penaltie, vherof throu that cauſe they maid themſelves guiltie." A verie notable exámple for all men, bot chieflie them of this yle, vho, throu faire promiſes or trifling guiftes, are abuſit in any ſorte to betraie the libertie of thair countrie, and ſpeciallie to the King of Spaine. Let thairfore th'indifferent reader conſider in vhat ſtrait this yle, and the holle inhabitants thairof, as veil they who are his favorers as others, ſhalbe, in caſe he ſchall attean to the conqueſt thairof, in reſpect vhat extreamitie, rigor, and tyrannie he hes not only uſit againſt ſuch as he haith conqueſit, bot evin againſt his ouin natiue ſubjects and countries, vho all haue taiſtit, as veil Papiſts as Proteſtants, hou intollerable a maiſter the Spaniard is.

Bot becauſe many of our countrymen are allured, pertly be corruption, pertlie be blinde zeale, to beleeve his enterpriſe to be juſt, ſeeing he culors

the ſame to his favorers in Scotland vith revenge of the Quein, the King his Mothers death in England, vith revenge of injuries receavet and in both the realmes, vith the reſtitution of the Roman religioun, the diſcourſe following ſchall cleerely prove them to be only pretextuall cauſes, and the verie effectuall cauſe to be the conqueſt of this holle yle, for conſervacion of his ovin eſtaite and monarchie, vhich dependis chieflie and onlie in the preſervatioun of the commoditie he reteiris from the Yndis, vhich, of the ſelf, is evident. For no man th'eſtait of the King of Spaine doth knaue, but likvais knaveth, that in all the dominions he hes in Europe, the chairges of thair intertainment farre to exceid the profitt. As to diſcend in particular, the profitt that he dois reape of the Lou Countries is verie ſmalle, th'one half contyneuing in rebellion, and likelie to doe, th'other half, preſently poſſeſſit be him, ſo far exhauſtit, throv the contynuall varrs, that in no vays of yt ſelf is yt able to finde ſufficient nouritour to the feu nomber nov inhabiting yt, albeit a great pairt of the principalls, both of the country and tounes, abandanet thair duellingis, ſome for extreme povertie, other for eſcheuing tyrannie, and hes reteirit themſelfis to Holland, Zealand, and divers forraine countries. So that, as I have hard ſome of them ſelfis affirme, the yearlie interteinement of thois varres exceideth the prouffit above two millions of gould, vhich he is not able to drawe from all his other dominions in Europe.

His commoditie from Yndis.

The Lou Countries.

Bourgoinge being verie ſmall prouffit to him, and all imployed in intertainement of the country men. The revenue of Naples and Cecill dois ſcairſly keip the countreys in ſubjectioun, partlie beſtouet upon the garriſouns, and pairtlie gevin out to the Barons of the countrie. The ſame is to be ſaid of the Duchie of Millaine, vhear he interteynis great garriſouns, lik as he dois in all his dominiouns in Italie. Beſide this, he hes to provide from his coffers for the intertainement of his galleyes in Naples, Cecill, and the reſt in Italie.

Bourgoinge.

Naples, Cecill.

Millaine.

In Portugal he is forced to hold above theire heades a great armie, beſide the interteyneidos or penſioners, vhich amountes to a farre greater ſoume then the yearely deuty of this country yt ſelf. As for the dominiouns in Spaine, all men knoveth the revenewe of them not to be great, and vith difficultie could he or his predeceſſors ever haue any great

Portugal.

thing by extraordinarie impoſt, and yit is he conſtrainit dayly to keepe in all frontier quarters of yt great garriſouns both for ſea and land, having on the one ſide the King of Navarre, and on th'other the Moores of Barbarie, pretending for Granada, and Aragon daylie readie to revolt for th'auncient deſpyt they haue at the name of Caſtillan.

Navarr, Granada, Aragon.

In Barbaria, vhear he hath noe commoditie, for his ouin ſuretie he is conſtrainit to beſtoue infinit chairdges. Beſide all this, yt is an exorbitant money he beſtoueth in France, Germanie, and all the pairtes of Europe, for intiſeing men to ſerve his towrne. So that of neceſſite, yt is to be grauntit the moyen, vhervith all theis great matters are performed, to proceid allmoſt hollely from the Yndis, never one of his poſſeſſiouns in Europe being able to diffray the ſelf; and thairfore, conſequentlie, the conſervatioun of his eſtaite and monarchie to depend upon the preſervacoun of his commodities from the Yndis.

Barbaria.

He must be master of the seas to preserve his commoditie from the Yndis.

Bot this his commoditie cannot be preſervit, onleſs he be perpetually maiſter of the ſeas, vhich cannot be denyit, ſeeing, ever ſince the firſt exploit of Sir Francis Drake, who had onlie in companie three ſchippes or foure, vith the vhich he reft the King of Spaine his holle flotte, the ſaid King hes bein conſtraynit to beſtowe the one half for ſaftie of th'other. And yit, if the ſea forces of England, Holland, and Zealand had not otherwiſe bene occupied, he coulde not haue maide forces ſufficient to haue defendit yearlie his flotte, againſt th'armie navale of thois three countreys. Lyk as, yit he is not able to doe, if ther other impeſchments ver removit, vhich is not altogither impoſſible be ſundrie accidents, for albeyt be aſſiſtance of other potent Princes, efter long preparatioun, he is able to fourniſh ſuch an armie as ves ſein this laſt yeare, for one exployit in ſevin or eight yeares; yit yt is eaſie to any vho knoveth th'eſtait of Spaine, to conſidder him not to be able to maintaine the ſame yearlie, in reſpect vhairof he juſtly accountes for preſervacioun of his commoditie from the Yndis, he muſt be perpeatually maiſter of the ſea. To the vhich he is never able to attein, onleſs he have on this ſyde of Europe, in Germanick ſea, ſome commodious and capable portes for building and preparatioun of great and other veſchells neceſſarie for that effect: ſeeing in all the coſtes of his dominiouns, either on the great ocean, or yit on the Mediterran Yberick ſea,

Sir Francis Drake his first exploit.

He must have capable portes in the Germanick sea.

he hes ſcarſlie vood ſufficient to build one ſchippe. In the Germanick ſea, he can pretende for noe other capable portes except them of his ouin countryes, Holland and Zeland, preſentlie in revolt from him, for avoyding tyrannie (as ſaid is), vhom alſo he is never able to drawe fully to his obedience, and to make to ſerve his tourne vithout he be aſſurit of England; becauſe, being deſtitute of all ſecours from other Princes, efter the death of the Duke of Alançon, they maid offer of themſelfis and thair ſervice to the Quein of England, and, amongſt other conditiouns, ingagit for their fidelitie their cheif ſtrenthis; vhich ſhe acceptit, and yet keips them in her handes, and received thois countryes in her ouin protectioun. So, that nou yt is not poſſible for them to revolt, althouch they vold; yea, albeyt they micht revolt, thair ſea forces ſhould be altogether inutile for the King of Spaine, be reaſon of the Straites, vhair his forces being the farre ſtronger, lyeis betuein him and them, and ever ſchall impeaſche thair joyning. And on th'other pairte, to drawe England from Holland and Zeland, he findeth greater difficultie yet, being from the beginning a pairt of the ſuretie of thair ouin eſtaite, vhich thay conſidderit not ſo veale of before, as at this tyme. Neither ver they tyed to ſuche neceſſitie, for in King Charles the 9th his tyme of Fraunce, thair ves a treatie betuein the ſaid King, the Quein of England, the Princes of Germanie, and th'eiſtates of the Lou Countries; vhere, be all theſe Princes yt ves founde the King of Spaine to be a verie dangerous neybour, in reſpect of his greatnes, and thairfore, upon the offer of th'eiſtaites to thair ſubjectioun, it ves thought meit, rather be a concurrence of Princes then any one of them, that th'offer ſhould be acceptit, and ſo concludit that the King of France ſhould have feaſit vith Flanders, Arthois, and Henault; the Princes of Germanie vith Brabant, and the countries adjacent, and for them the Prince of Aurange ſchould have bein deputed Governor; and the Quein of England, vith Holland and Zealand. Vhich treatie effectuat not, for that ſche vold not that tyme enter in offence againſt the King of Spaine, albeyit yt ves concludit to be the ſuretie of her eſtaite, like as ſche hath founde ſince, and in convenient tyme did remead her former error; for if this laſt year thois countries haid not bene at her devotion, and her forces in thair cheif portes, yt may be eaſilie conjectured in vhat danger

He must be assurit of England.

A pairte of the suretie of th'estaite of Eng. the protection of Holland and Zealand.

Queen of England loth to irritat the King of Spain.

1588—The dissipacion of the Spanish armie, the laik of a commodious receptioun.

her eſtaite ſchould have fallen by the Spaniſh armie, vhich being greater then th'Engliſh, ves not only diſſipated for the vant of a commodious receptioun: vhich tyeth her ſtrictlie to retein Holland and Zeland as a pairt of her ſuretie, vhairof yt neceſſarily folloveth, to have Holland and Zeland ſerving for the King of Spaine his uſe, he muſt be aſſurit of England, becauſe he cannot have th'one vith out th'other: A matter altogether impoſſible, except the preſent eſtait thereof be alterit, both for the diverſitie in the religioun, and for th'inimitie vhich hes alreadie taken ſo deip roote on his pairt, for the great injuries he alledges him to have recevit of England; and on the pairt of the preſent eſtaite of England, for th'open revenge evidentlie intendit for the vrack and overthrou thairof: ſo that all hope of reconciliatioun is cuttit avay, and th'one muſt ſubdue th'other, vhich plainely declaris the King of Spaine can noe vayes be aſſured of England, vithout th'eſtaite thairof be chainged. And albeyt th'eſtaite thairof ver changit, and put in the handes of any the juſt titulars of that Crovne, he findeth himſelf in as great difficultie as of before: for the King of Scotland being the firſt, he ſees in him the ſame impediment is both in religioun, and other vayes, vhich is in the preſent eſtaite. Like as he ſeis in all th'others pretending richt of ſucceſſioun to that Croun, vherat noe man ſchould mervell, ſeeing he could never finde a competencie in the perſoun of the Quein of Scotland, ſche being of his ouin Catholick Roman religion; for yt ves proponit during her being in England, that to be aſſurit of th'eſtaite in England, yt ves ſufficient ſuretie for the King of Spaine to aſſiſt her to atteyne to that kingdom; yit he, weying her efter his ovin humor, knoving her to be a vyſe princeſſe, eſteimit ſche vould reſpect her ovin avantage more nor his ſuretie, and preferre *utile honeſto:* and thairfore he thought be her preferment he ves no vayis aſſurit of the eſtaite of England, vhich, vithout doubt, ves the cauſe that ſtayit him ſo long from attempting againſt England, for feare to put her in good caire. For remead vhairof her freinds in France, vith concurrence of ſome of her ouin ſubjects thair, deviſit an apparent contentment, and proponit a duble marriage betuein herſelf and the King of Spaine, his Maieſty her ſonne and the ſaid King of Spaine his ſecond daughter; vhich noe vayis contented the King of Spaine, for

The alteration of the present estait of England.

England and Spaine irreconciliable.

Difficulties in the alteracion of the present estaite of England.

Difficulties in the person of the Queen of Scots.

he allegit yt ves ſome ſhadou of ſuretie for himſelfe, but not for his ſoune or ſucceſſors, ſeing the King of Scotland being a Proteſtaunt prince, ves to ſucceid his Mother; and to obviat that, her frendes thought convenient that the King her ſoune ſhould be ſende in Spaine to be brocht upp in the Catholick religioun. Bot their matters drew to ſuch lenth, be ſlow deliberacioun of her freindes in France, and doutſome expectatioun of the King of Spaine, that, in the mid tyme, ſche unhappilie died. Since vhich tyme the King of Spaine yit adviſed and founde yt meiter for his veil, be reaſon of his aige, to be yit aſſured of England, then to intend the conqueſt of yt; in reſpect the matter cannot bot fall in great lenth, and being deceſſit in his olde aige, his death may caſt his holle dominiouns louſe, chieflie his moſt aſſured ſubjects being imployit in ſo longſome a varre; and thairfore, did once againe deliberat to ſie if he could be aſſured of England, the King of Scotland yit being in poſſeſſioun of yt; bot in th'ende fande noe more certainties that vaie, nor he did finde at his firſt adviſement, vhen the Quein of Scotland ves yit living. And thairfore he concludit that a neceſſitie for his ovn ſuretie conſtrainit him to the conqueſt of England. Vhairupon reſultit a greater difficultie, for he fand yt a verie hard matter, and almoſt impoſſible, to conqueiſt England, vithout aſſiſtance of Scotland; firſt, be reaſon England is ſo veile fortified on the holle ſea coſtes, that his armie dare not hazard to diſcend on yt; nixt, be reaſon of the amitie and league ſtanding betuein the two Princes and countries, vhairby th'one is bound to aſſiſt th'other. So that he, not being aſſurit of Scotland, muſt be inforced to provyd als great armie almoſt for yt as for England,—a matter very difficill and impoſſible, ſeing vhat tyme and chairdges he hes conſomed for the preparatioun of one, and that his aige and ſicknes permitts noe protraction of tym. And thairfore the remead of this difficultie he fand, that it ves to ſeik Scotland, either in alluring the King himſelf, or then, according to this accuſtomat procedor, be corruption, or faire promiſes, to allure a faction to his effect, of the ſubjects vithin the ſame.

Conquest of England be a necessite.

No conquessing of England vithout concurrence of Scotland.

If he ſhould have foucht the King, he behoveth to deale vith him, either ſimplie, conditionallie, or politicklie. Simplie, he could not deale, becauſe he fande yt altogether repugnant to his diſſinge of the conqueſt of Eng-

Thrie vayes to seik the King of Scotland.

land, (as faid is), feeing the King of Scotland is juſt titular to the ſucceſſioun of the Croune thairof. It vas adviſed, thairfore, to ſute the King conditionallie, in offering him aſſiſtance in revenge of his Mothers death, and all landes and poſſeſſiouns vhich ever apperteinit to any King of Scotland, nor annixit to the Crovne of Englande. But thairin he ves reſolvit be ſome Scottis man, the matter to tuich the King of Scotland, ſo farre in princelie honor, that he could not accept of yt; and ſoe yt ves thoucht expedient it ſhould not be proponit. As lykevays he fand yt ves not his ſuertie, being juſt titular to the holle; vhich made the King of Spaine reſolve to ſute the King of Scotland only politickly, and to let him knav nothing of the treuth, bot only his pretextuall cauſes, and making him beleif that his intention ves only revenge of the Queins death, and of his ouin particuler griefes.

In this politick deliberation the King of Spain contineuit a longe tyme, efter the death of the Quein, hoping that matters ſhould not have been packed upp betuein the Quein of England and the King of Scotland. Bot hov ſoun her Embaſſadors ver recevit in Scotland, he fande that policie coulde noe longer ſerve him, and thairfore concludit the King ves no longer to be ſoucht, but the ſubjects to be ſteirit upp to a factioun, yit not all, but ſuch as ver ſuſpect in religioun, and malecontentit of th'eſtait. And to that effect, thair ves ſend into Scotland divers Jeſuiſts, vho firſt ſuperficially brake the matter; nixt, Robert Bruce and one Capitain Foſter ver ſend, vith ſome quantitie of gould, to diſtribute be th'advice of the Jeſuiſts. Yit finding little effect, the gould ves not diſtribute be them unto the tyme the Biſhopp of Dunblaine came into Scotland, vho had bene 4 or 5 monethes in Paris, avaiting for advertiſement. Efter him ves ſende Colonel Simple, vho, having full power of the Duck Parma be the Biſhopp his advyſe, cauſit Robert Bruce to corrupt with the gould ſundry noblemen and gentillmen, and movit them to the laſt yeares attemptats, chieflie to th'inſurrection in the North, vhich, throu feiblenes of the principalls, tuck ſuch effect, as did thair Spaniſh armie. The diſſipation vhairof having animat the Spaniard to the extreme proſecution of his intendit diſſing, maks him noe leſs diligent, be the ſeditious Jeſuiſts and others his factious agents, to procure vithin this realme

The indutifull subjects of Scotland steirit upp be the King of Spaine.

Jesuists beginners of all sedition.

The King of Spain his agents als busie this year as the last.

at this tyme a corrupted nomber of noblemen and others then of before: yea, and thairto he is more bent, being acquaintit hov neceſſarie th'aide of ſuch a faction in Scotland ſhall be for obtayning his intente, havand by experience founde that the favour of Scotland micht have bene ſufficient ſafetie to his holle navie, diſperſit by a blaſte of contrarie vinde ſend doune from God; vhom he knavis to be als michtie this year as the laſt, vhich pouffis him now the more earneſtlie to offer to the factionars villinglie, all kinde of ſecours that the laſt yeare be them ves craivit, and not obteynit, as veile of men as of money, vhairof alreadie a pairt they have recevyt, and farther is promiſit to their contentement; as in like manner ſecours of men in caice neide beis, providing they firſt ſchall frankelie goe fordvart to ſatiffie his expectation, vhich they have promiſit. And vhat conventiouns, vhat privie meitings, vhat quyit traffick, is amongſt themſelfis, and vhat daylie perſuaſions are uſed to ſeduce others not yit of thair opinion, is ſo notorious throvout Scotland, that I deſiſt in any forte to faſche the reader in perticularizing the ſame. So that be this Diſcours, all men may evidentlie ſie the only diffigne of the King of Spaine for conſervation of his monarchie and eſtaite, to be the conqueſt of England, and conſequentlie of Scotland, as plainly appeiris be his not dealing vith his Maieſties ſelf, nor craving his ovin benevolence and concurrence, bot ſteiring up a ſorte of his Maieſties factious ſubjects to ſerve for the tyme his intent; vhich I dout not, if he ver in Scotland, he ſhould ſubſtantiouſlie obviat, as his paynes, valor, and diligence this laſt yeare may eaſilie move all men to thinke. And thairfore, yt is meiteſt, in his abſence, that all his deutifull ſubjects ſhould to thair abilities concurre amongſt themſelfis, and vith th'eſtaite of England, according to the vill and inclinacion vhich they have ſein in his Maieſty, for defence of the libertie of th'Ylle, in reſpect of his intereſt to the holle, and in reſpect that noe honeſt Scottiſhman can think bot it is better to have an Engliſhman neybour then a Spaniard maiſter.

Conclusion.

Deuty of the subjects of Scotland in the Kings absence.

Nou, for the better eaſe and information of the reader, I have ſett doun brieflie the ſomme of the holle Diſcours in this epilogue following.

1. The Spaniard attempts againſt England for the conſervation of his ouin eſtaite and monarchie.

2. The conſervation of his eſtaite and monarchie depends upon the preſervation of the commodities he doeth reteir from the Yndis.

3. The preſervation of the commoditie he doeth reteir from the Yndis, conſiſtis in that he be perpetuallie maiſter of the ſeas.

4. That he be maiſter perpetuallie of the ſeas, yt is neceſſarie that he have fully ſubjection of Holland and Zeland, his ouin naturall countryes

5. To have fullie ſubjection of Holland and Zeland, yt is requiſite he be aſſurit of England.

6. To be aſſured of England, th'eſtait of it muſt be changit.

7. Th'eſtait of yt being changit, and yt to fall in the handes of his Maieſtie of Scotland, or any having juſt intereſt, he ſhall be in no better caice, and finde noe further ſuertie, then be the preſente eſtaite: thairfore, his ſuertie craivis the conqueſt of yt.

8. The conques of England, vithout th'aide and concurrence of Scotland, it is difficill and almoſt impoſſible, ſo he findes Scotland is to be ſocht.

9. To ſeik Scotland, yt muſt either be in the perſon of the King, or then be ſteiring upp a faction of ſeditious ſubjects to favour his courſe.

10. To ſeik Scotland in the perſon of the King, yt muſt be either ſimplie, conditionally, or politickly.

11. Simplie he cannot ſeik the King, becauſe yt repugnis to his diſſigne.

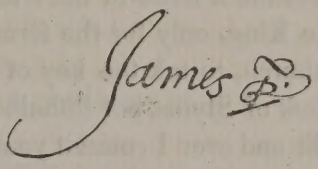
12. Conditionally to ſeik the King of Scotland, his princely honor permitts not on his pairt that he ſchall accept of any condition; and on the King of Spaine his pairt, his ſuertie permitts not to have the King of Scotland, being juſt ſucceſſor, to be his neighbour.

13. To ſeik the King of Scotland politicklie, he findeth he cannot, be reaſon of his good vill and affection tovardis the Quein, and preſente eſtait of England: and ſoe concludeth, noe vayes the King bot the ſubjects of Scotland to be ſoucht, lyk as preſentlie he doeth.

Be this his Maieſtie may ſie formally concludit the Spaniards diſſigne, alvayes groundit for his ruyn, and his veyle and ſtanding repugnant to the King of Spaine his diſſigne. Thairfor, himſelf haith to conſidder of his ouin eſtaite and ſuretie; and his ſubjects, in his abſence, to doe that vhich villinglie he vould performe, in caice he ver preſente himſelf. 26 Feb. 1590

KING JAMES VI. TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

TRUSTY AND WEILBELOUIT COUNSALLOUR, We greit yow hairtlie weill: Being reſolwit to pas in propir perſone towart þe north partis of our realme, at þe tyme preſcryuit, ffor proſequitioun of þe papiſt Erllis and vþairis trublaris of þe quiet eſteat of þe cuntrey, according to our laſt proclamatione direct þairanent, neceſſar it is, That befoir our taking iornay ſum reſolutioune off our Eſteatis be had quhat preparationis is requiſit þairto; quhilk hes mowit ws, ryght effecteuſlie, to deſyr yow to meit ws at Edinburgh vpone þe xxvj of Apryill inſtant, ffor your gud adwyis and opinioun to be gewin anent ſik preparationis as ar neidfull for our ſaid iornay, as ye will kyth your zeall and dewtifull affectioun towart þe furtherance of þe godlie and honeſt actioun, and will do ws ſpeciall gud pleſour and ſeruice. Sa, lippinning aſſuredlie for your preceis keiping of þe dyet, We commit yow to God. Frome Stirling, þe xvj of Apryill, 1594.



To our truſty and weilbelouit
Counſallour, the Maſter of Gray.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO MR JOHN LINDSAY, OF BALCARRAS.[2]

MY LORD, I haue ſend vith this all I promiſt, and ſume forther. Receaue the Aſſociatioun, the ordre of the Quene her accuſatioun, the vrytis found; In nombre sex, subscryuit be the Counsell of England.

[1] From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

[2] From the original among the Balcarras Papers, vol. vi., in the Advocates Library. A fac-simile of this letter is given as a frontispiece to this work.

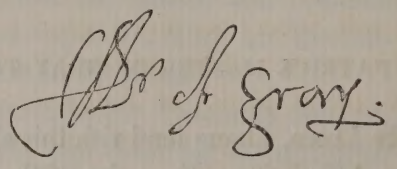
befyd this, to let you knou hou maiters paſt, I haue ſend you a lettre of the Quene, vrottin to his Maieſtie her ſone; Fontainie her agentis lettre to the King; the articles he craueit in her name. Sindrie other thingis I haue, quhilks villingly I vould let you ſee, bot in my abſence it ver hard to commit them to the receptioun of any my ſeruantis. As for thir, it vill pleaſe your Lordſhip copie them, and ether ſend them, or delyuer them to my vyf in my abſence: I vould haue bein loth to haue ſend ſome of theis to many vithin Scotland.

I vill requyſt your Lordſhip cauſe ſend me a copie of your Diſcours De Jure Anglicano, quhilk I ſau in Falkland.

My Father is ſommonit to be in Linlythco the 22, befor the Counſell. His inhabilitie to all men is knouin; as for the maiter, he refuſit not, bot the ordour ves not formell, nether haid the officer any chairdge, nor ſufficient miſſiue, as your Lordſhip vill ſee. Therfor, I pray your Lordſhip hould hand that he be not forther troublit then the receauing of the pledge, quhilk he will do villingly, he being preſentit according to the Act of Parliament. I recommend it then to your Lordſhips patrocinie.

Receaue a lettre of the King of France, an vther of the Duke of Guiſe to the King, only for the formes. I forgot, vhen I directit my ſeruant to Edinburch, to tak the key of my cabinet, quhilk is the cauſe I ſend not the buk of Styllis, bot it ſhalbe vith you in Lythcoe, or ſchortly efter. To quhilk and ever I commit your Lordſhip to Godis holy protection. Dundie, this 15 Sept. 1596.

Your Lordſhips louing freind to commaund,



To his honored freind,
My Lord Secretairie to
His Maieſtie.

It vill pleaſe your Lordſhip to remember, that the Lordis of Inchmartin and Kinnard receaue no rigour.

Receaue 15 pieces to be copeit, and delyuerit to my Vyf.

Inuentour of vrytis delyuerit to the Secretaire, 15 *Sept.* 1596.

A copie of ane lettre of the Quene of Scotland to her Sone.
Fontainie her agentis lettre to the King.
Fontainie his Articles in the Quene her name to his Maieſtie.
Copie of the Engliſch Aſſociatioun.
The cauſes of condemnatioun of the Gentlemen arreynit.
The names of the Aſſyſe.
Reaſouns for the Quene of Scotland.
Reaſouns contrarie.
The forme of proceiding agenſt her.
Sex letteres ſubſcryuit be the Counſell of England.
In nombre 15.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Sir, What I haue written to you, in þe incloſed, I deſire ſhold be treuly ſeen to þe King; for I am reſolued to come no nearer, then by my demonſtratiue courſes in my ſervices without inſinwation in particuler, or acompting (by apology) further then to þe conſcience of an honeſt ſervant to my deereſt Soveraine, and a good patriot to my Contry; which reſolution, (with þe vieu of my actions,) ſhall cleare me to the world temporall, and ſave me at þe day of Judgment, where I ſhall dare to pleade þat in my ſoule there neuer entred baſe or malicious practiſe againſt him; whoſe hart I preſume (being guyded by God, who is þe ruler of Princes,) will

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library. It bears neither address nor date, although it evidently appears to have been written towards the end of autumn 1600.

be as ſoon ſatiffied by his devine influence, as by any vulgar or ſubordinate adreſſes or flatteryes of mine. To you, I yeld thanks for your good will, and becauſe I wold haue you retourn me ſuch an anſuer as may ſtill ſatiffy my Miſtreſs, þat you dyd but propound it *de bene eſſe*, (and with deſire þat the Queens mynd ſhold approve it, for whoſe ſervice you wiſhed it eſpecially,) let your anſwer reply in þat ſtile; ſaiing, þat I need not miſlike you, (nor the Queen miſlike your courſs in it). But I pray you, Sir, let the King, in any caſe, ſee my lettre, and in your lettre retourn his treu anſuer, for I will ſheu it to the Queen what ever it be.

For þe Duke of Nevers, he is gon back, and ſheued here no purpoſe to go further northward, for which the Queen took his viſitation the more gratefull, and I dare ſay of þat ſhe kept no counſaile to him ſelf. For your ſute, be ſure I will haue no idle thoghts in þat buſineſs; but I can not yet anſuer you directly, for, as much lies in þe forme as þe matter, and I may peradventure better carve you out a peece of work then your coſen Grey can, for land is land, and leaſe is land in valuation: but of this I can write no more certainty yet, then of mine owne deſires; vppon your next diſpatch I ſhalbe readyer. In þe meane tyme, what Hamilton brings I knou not; but I do love þe man, and haue no purpoſe to do otherwiſe. For þe Duke, what he ſends I knou not, but ſure I am, my pen ſhall reply to none in Scotland (if not by order) but your ſelf, (I meane perſons of rank and place). Sir, I aſſure you, þe noble man is very worthy, and I do wiſh the King had more ſuch well tempered ſubiects. For þe Kings oune adreſſes hyther, or dayly diſpatches from hence, I can not reade þe ryddle; but I think ſuerly as you do, they are all but viſions of idolls, offred and multiplied to him by ſuch as deſire thanks. For þe other 2, þat ſtill miſleade him from believing iuſtly of me, they are wiſe, and were to blame, if they ſhold not maintaine their oune former principles, *ſed jacta eſt alea;* onely I am ſorry to ſee by you, þat all is fiſh þat comes to nett, and þat it is ſo eaſy for men about a Prince to make him valeu poor ſilly felloues for men of vſe, becauſe they are paincted to him to be men þat haue place or creditt here (as you ſay) with the Queen or her Counſaile, a matter not ſtrange to me. If þat be treu which you do write, þat the King thinks Ladyes can do him alſo ſuch pleaſure, ſwerly I can hardly

think it to be treu that þe Lady you write of doth or can write to him. Think not þat her Father knoues it, for, God knoues, he wold treade her vnder his feet, rather then therby to adventure his fortune for þe preſent, thogh, in my ſoule, otherwiſe he dreames of no practiſe. Let me knou, therfore, Sir, treuly, what is treu, and I will take it for a courteſy, and vſe it like a jentleman. When your Son comes I will do þat which you ſhall think fitt for me to you, who ſhall ever find me,

Your aſſured frend,

Ro. Cecyll.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO CARDINAL BORGHESE.[1]

In Scotiâ, tumultuoſè omnia ſatis apparent; et miniſtri Calviniani ſatis adhuc et poſſunt et præſunt. Rex, ut poteſt, non pro religione, ſed pro læſâ ſuâ majeſtate, et authoritate, in contrarium aliquo modo nititur. Quæ, pro Rege, Romæ acta erant, elapſâ hyeme, Reginæ Angliæ non minus ſunt nota quam ipſis actoribus, inſcitiâ fortè negotiantium. Itaque, non video quod quæ Regis nomine afferabantur, præſtari poſſint; neque quod vera ſint, præcipuè de ipſius religione. *James*, verè cum Catholicis favere puto, cum nihil contra ſuam ipſius voluntatem adhuc moliti ſunt.

Comes Gourius cum fratre, præſente ipſo Rege, trucidati ſunt: At, de eâ re, quod adhuc nihil comparuit, incertè relinquo. Quæ mihi ſcripſit quidam aulicus, hîc accipe; et, pro interprete, utere Jacobo Scaveo, Scoto.

[1] From the Sloane MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 4160, art. 114, where it is thus marked: 'The Master of Gray to Cardinal Borghese, from London, 12 Cal. Novemb. 1630, sent to the Nuncio at Brussels.' The date 1630 is evidently a mistake, as the letter must have been written shortly after the slaughter of the Earl of Gowry, which happened in August 1600.

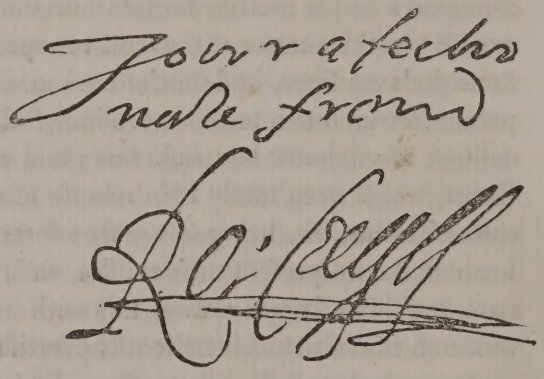
SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Sir, I haue now receaued your lettre of the 16th, written before a ſhort lettre of mine to Raph Grey, bearing date þe 16th, came to yowr hands, wherby yow may perceaue my ſilence greu not owt of any looſe regard of thoſe things which yow haue recomended, (either concerning your ſelf or others;) for it is treu, þat hither came ſuch a multiplicity of reports, by ſome of your owne nation, ſome þat you were fledd into France, others þat yow had ben in a privat combatt ſlaine, as I was full of anxiety, and deſirous to know where my lettre ſhold find yow. But, Sir, I pray yow now receaue herewith þe treuth of all þe proceedings in this vnlucky matter which hath ben recomended hyther to þe Queen. Firſt, I muſt needs tell yow, that þe Queen ſtill brandleth in her mind, owt of an irremoueable jelouſy, þat howſoever the ſutes concerning the brethern and ſiſters of Gowry haue ben ſent hyther vnder a vaile of ſecreſy, that þe King him ſelf is not ignorant of it; but rather, þat he letts it runn on by others, to diſcouer whyther any of þe former malicious imputations vppon þe Queen in þat matter, (becauſe his fact ſucceeded his paſſadg by this Court,) might be diſcouered by any extraordinary ſucceeding fauour from hence, eſpecially to thoſe with whom ſhe neuer held any correſpondency; wherein, as God (þe Father of Heauen) knoweth, how farr ſhe was from any thoght or act of participation, ſo I muſt plainly ſay to yow, (for ſhe ſpeakes it evry day,) þat þe carriadg of the buſineſs hyther hath ben ſo contrary to þe reſervednes deſired there, as it hath much ſtuck in her Maieſties mynd; and ſo much þe rather becawſe the ſubject of þe requeſt was to comend a Lady, a perſon of honour, of note and quality, to ſerve her; which her Maieſty ſtill repeateth to be a matter ſo well knowen vnto you, to be farr from her mind to grant, as you cold haue made þe anſwer before the queſtion. This, Sir, is the ſubſtance of all þat I cold draw from a mynd

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter appears to have been written in 1601.

reſolued to ſuſpect all things þat come *ab Aquilone*, and treu it is, þat I dyd neuer hold it but as an vnfortunate ſwte; for firſt, myne owne Soverain, who hath judgment to diſcern þat to pleaſe þe Queen there is not to be farther of another day from þe Kings favour, wold eaſily ſuſpect þat whatſoever I dyd, (more then belongs meerly to my place, which is to receaue and retourn lettres,) in furthering any deſires from thence, cold hardly be ſevered from ſome creeping deſire in me to become gracious to the future. Next, for þe Queen þat is there, who knowes me not but by heare ſay, ſhe, finding no better ſucceſs, may be apt to ſuſpect þat I haue not dealt as I ſhold do; in which conſyderation I was willing to lett þe othre lettre to my Lady Warwick go on, both becauſe the Queen might be moved by ſome other as well as my ſelf, (and indead, þe matter and perſon conſydered, fitlier ſerving her ſex then another;) next, I knew it wold make þe Queen þe more aſſured þat all hope was not only in me but in others: all which notwithſtanding, her Maieſty hath retowrned plainly a negative in þat matter, both to her and me, and hath deſired alſo to be excuſed in this matter without ill interpretation. This anſwer was made ſome 6 dayes ſince, and on the neck of it I haue receaued your laſt diſpatch, in which two lettres were incloſed, which, till this day, I cold not deliuer, for I haue ben ſick this good whyle, thogh now come well to Court, which greu lately by a relapſe after a late keping in vppon a great cold. To this, Sir, being of another forme, directed to the Queen her ſelf, I can make no preſent anſwer; for, firſt, the lettres are neuly deliuered; next, her Maieſty will anſwer this with her owne hand; and yet becauſe I wold not, in deſire to advertiſe all advertiſe nothing, I think good to impart vnto yow thus much by this preſent. Th' agent Nycolſon advertiſed hyther þat Scotland ronge of fauours don to th'Erl Gourys ſiſter; ſome that I had intelligence with her vnderhand, by þe Queens direction; others þat the Queen maintained her. And of this ſubiect I know not almoſt who ſpake not, wheruppon the Queen willed þe Agent there to advertiſe the King, þat treu it was ſhe had ben in London, and ſome Ladyes about her, (becauſe ſhe was a Lady,) pitied her, but ſhe had neuer giuen her acceſs, nor wold meddle with thoſe þat were, (by his proteſtation ſo much diſagreable to him;) and this looſe tale was all þat Nycolſon had in chardge, with which the King, as it ſeemed, was well ſatiffied. And thus, hauing

now related all I know, it remaines þat I add this, þat I muſt chaleng of yow, (whoſe deſtiny hath ben to bring me into this rugged path,) firſt, to make my caſe your owne, and then to remember þat which yowr owne ſelf wrote, þat ſervants to great Princes muſt make no vowes, and therfore other mens good wills muſt not be cenſured by [ill] ſucceſſes. Next, þat as your ſelf do find in your mind an inward afection (beſyds loialty) to þe vertewes and comandments of þat Princeſs, ſo yow will imagine of me, (whoſe obligation is more infinite then any can be to his Soverain, becauſe I am þe creature of her hands,) þat in whatſoever I may not haſard þe grieving of her mind, (which it wold be if ſhe thoght I had a thoght beyond her,) I will alwaies be ready to do þat Queen ſervice; not becauſe ſhe is Queen of Scotts, and ſo yow may think I hold my ſelf in pollicy tied to ingratiat myſelf, but becauſe ſhe is a noble Princeſs, full of honour and conſtancy, and hath truſted me: with which I now muſt end this lettre, and ever reſt honeſtly,



SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

Sir, I haue anſwered moſt of þe contents of your 3 lettres in this other lardg diſcourſe, and haue alſo let yow know what we do in theſe ſouthern

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library. The signature to this letter is crossed by several strokes of the pen. The 'lardg discourse' alluded to is apparently the following letter, in another hand, though in some parts bearing Cecyll's own corrections. The date, 1602, is marked on the back; and from the reference which is made to certain events, it has undoubtedly been written early in that year.

parts of þe world. It remaineth now þat I do ſhortly let yow knou in this lettre þat there is not an vntreu word in þat to my knoledg; and next, þat for my offer, (rather to be yowr pledg for þe maintenance of your Sonn[1] abroad, till your owne meanes better ſerved you,) then to driue you for ſuch a tryfle to reſort to her Maieſty, (my ſtate neuer ſo ill ſorting with my affections as to be to ſeek for ſuch a courteſy to a jentleman of qwality, and my freend, as I hold you to be,) you ſhall vnderſtand þat if yow let me know whyther yow will haue his payments aſſigned either to Roan or to Paris, I will cauſe a Bill to be ſent or deliuered to whom yow will apoinct me by your next lettre, wherby he ſhall be deuly payd of (400) Crownes yearly, by half yeares portion, for which he ſhall haue his firſt half yeares aſſignation before hand. If yow will haue this bill ſent to yow eyther for Paris, Roan, Orleance, or any other cyty where exchang runneth in France, I will ſend it yow by poſt to Mr Rafe Greys; but I will not apoinct any payments to be aſſigned into Scotland, for of this poor mole-hill wold be raiſed a rampart for many a fool to beſtow his canon vppon. And it ſhold be decreed þat all ſuch courteſies, which are but feathers toſſed between men of quality or ingenuity, draw with them ſome conſequences of practiſe or combination, of which, I proteſt to þe Lord, I am reſolued to diſcard all idle ouertures, more then to keep frendſhip with one or two ſuch as your ſelf, wherby I may be informed, without fraud, how things go; and ſo accomodate all things to þe preſervation of amity, in which conſiſteth þe fælicity of þe whole Iland. For þe Erle of Marr his oppoſition to you ſo violently, it makes me wonder, becauſe he ſeemed here to me to haue a mind not ill prepared for frendſhip; but it may be his doubt, leſt yow wold part ſtakes with his power about his Soverain, may yeld yow þe reflexions of bitter æmulation. But to God I leaue yow, for yow haue a ſtrange Court, and ſtrang particularitys (me think) poſeſs yow, ſo as for mine owne part I will reſolue neuer to paſs þe riuer of Twede, thogh if yow come hyther in his naturall tyme I will hope þat

[1] Andrew Gray, the Master's eldest son, afterwards eighth Lord Gray. He married Anna Ogilvie, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater. His father, Patrick Lord Gray, was a party to the contract, which was dated at Foullis, Dec. 3, 1608.

we ſouthern men ſhall rectify yow with our mild medecins, and temper the violence and inconſtancy of your humours.

Ro. Cecyll.

If yow heare any expectation of our Parliament to do any wonders, take my woord þat we ſhall make it an epitome, and after our ſubſydy, herken to no other proiects; and belieue me, Sir, now Queen Elizabeth gouerns and not Rychard 2, as ſhe ſhold haue ben, if Henry þe 4th had proſpered.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.

Sir, Since your laſt diſpatches (of the 19 and 25th of July), I remayned ſtill in expectation what to heare from you; the rather becauſe I perceaued by them you weare declyninge agayne, as alſoe that I founde by ſome woords in Mr Grayes lettre, that you, havinge vnderſtood of a new purpoſe in the Kynge to command you to ward, had taken the ſea; which did much greiue me, in regard of the hope I had, that your honeſt and diſcreet indevours would haue ſett you in a better degree for the Kings favour, and whereof I was ever ſince in payne to heare the iſſue, which hath been [the] cauſe of my ſilence. Now haue I receaued from Mr Rafe Gray of the 13th of Awguſt, and in it noe mention made of that perticuler, which keepeth me ſtill in diſtraction, becauſe I know not where my lettres ſhall fynde you, and yet, (for anſweare to your late diſpatches,) I thought not amiſſe to adventure theiſe. I was by your lettres informed of the Dukes imployment, and of his deſyre to know by you, (for which purpoſe Forreſt was addreſſed vnto me,) whether his comminge into England ſhould be well taken. Now, Sir, if you will know what moued me to forbeare my anſweare to this, you ſhall vnderſtand, that if I had ſeene that the Duke, had depended in this perticular only vppon my anſweare to you, I had then forthwith made a diſpatch, both becauſe it ſhould haue ap-

peared, that I eſteeme my correſpondency with you, (wherein the more we haue been ſifted, the clearer I hope we are founde,) as alſoe that the Duke may know how farr her Maieſty is from neglectinge him, or any thinge that comes from him. But, Sir, before your lettre came to me, (at the leaſt before Forreſt arriued, after whoſe adreſs I was to make you anſweare,) here was Mr Symple of Beltreſs arrived, whoe brought a lettre from the Kynge, wherein he tooke notice of her Maieſties proceedinges with his Embaſſadour, and gaue her moderate thankes for all thoſe perticulers. This gentleman allſoe dealt with me in that poynct concerninge the Duke,[1] to whom I could not haue been ſylent without inconvenience. Soe as when Mr Forreſt came, I only courteouſly receaued him, and confirmed her Maieſties good inclynation to give the Duke a good wellcome; and ſo thought your motion in that poynct required noe ſpeedy anſweare. For Forreſt, he profeſſed good affection on the Dukes part in generall to her Maieſty, and ſaid, if he mought receaue from me ſome private inſtructions, what I would wiſh him to doe now for her Maieſties ſervice, he knew the Duke would doe it. I anſweared it with like complement, but told him, that his profeſſion was generall, and ſoe was her Maieſties acceptation, which included all perticulers; but it was hard for her to direct him in perticuler what to doe in the negociacion, when ſhee knew nothinge of his inſtructions. Soe as her Maieſty did only recommend to his iudgment to applye himſelfe to effect all thoſe thinges which may beſt conſerue the amyty, which ſhe would be ready to requite. Next, Sir, for the ſtate of thinges in Scotland, as they haue relation vnto vs: Firſt, be aſſured, that more then to hearken after any courſes from Scotland or in it, which may be preiuditiall to this Eſtate, the Queene hath noe deſygne, nor for my perticuler (I proteſt,) but with you doe I care to hould correſpondency with any (but our agent) in that kingdome. Nether doth the Kinge (as I perceaue) now propounde any new, nor we deliberate of other grounds, then by the diſpatch of the Erle of Marr, and his negociation was effected, with the perticulers whereof you were acquaynted.[2] For the calmes in

[1] Ludovick Duke of Lennox.

[2] 1601, May 31. The last day of Maii, the Earle of Marr, ambassador, came out of England; bot non knew quherfor he was sent, nor quhat he got.—*Birrel's* Diary, p. 54.

that Court vppon this late reconciliations, (for my owne part,) I ſee noe great likelyhood of perpetuity, nothinge beinge (in my late obſeruation) more contrary to that Eſtate, then not to fynde varyetye in all ſuch accidents. I am only ſorry, that howſoever others (not only detected but convinced) can fynde meanes to be reſtored, you remayne ſtill in privation, vppon the ſhaddowes of ſuch ſuſpicions, as tyme it ſelfe (which is the parent of truth) hath cleared.

For the newes which we haue here, they doe conſiſt principally in the conſtitution of the affayres of Ireland, and of the Low Countreyes, and there eſpecially in the ſtate of Oſtende. For the firſt, her Maieſty hath dayly good and happie ſucceſſe vppon the Rebells, whereby I make noe doubt but her Maieſty ſhall receaue ſpeedy end of thoſe troubles, if the deſcent of Spaniſh forces doe not giue a new life to that Rebellion, whereof we haue a great probability to ſuſpect, becauſe a Spaniſh fleet hath been diſcovered ſettlinge his courſe for that coaſt, ſoe as (vntill ſome further tyme) we cannot tell what iudgment to make. For Oſtend, there lyeth before it a powrefull army, commanded by the perſon of the Archduke, whoe is opiniaſtre in the ſeidge, ſupported by the diſunited Provinces, in an incredible proportion, with all that can be prepared for a ſeidge, and augmented by 8000 men out of Italy. In the towne we haue bodyes enough, for there are 5000 Engliſh, beſyds Dutch, but the place is not well fortifyed, nether is the earth within it proper for reintrenchments; Soe as although (accordinge to the ould rules) many a playne Captayne would argue the impoſibility to haue it taken, where there are ſoe many ſouldyers, as might ſafely make the enemy a breach, yet we ſee it dayly, that now great commanders that haue new experience in beſeidginge, and can carry their trenches before them, and are ſoe well furniſhed with ſtore of artilery, as they haue often commodity to diſmount their cannon within, doe alwayes, by ſapping, eate into the rampart, and ſo carry townes in the ende; towards which miſfortune, (if ſoe it ſhould happen,) the abſence of the Generall Vere[1] is a great helpe, whoe comminge in, after the enemy

[1] Sir Francis Vere, second son of Geoffrey Vere, and grandson of John Vere Earl of Oxford. He was constituted general of the army of the States, and maintained with great vigour the defence of Ostend against the Spanish forces in 1601.

had been many dayes before it, did yet rayſe divers outwoorkes, thereby to wynn tyme, before he would only be putt to the defence of the walls. This gallant jentleman, after many ſallyes, receaued a hurt in the head with a cannon ſplynter of the towne, which was broken by an other from the campe, and grew ſoe dangerouſly into fevers, as the ſurgeons all proteſted he was loſt if he remoued not; becauſe the contynuall volleys of cannon, booth within and without, did ſhake the brayne, then which there can be noe greater enemy to the wounds in the head. He is now at Middleborough, from whence he is to retourne ſoe ſoone as he is able. In the meane tyme, the States haue ſent in (for a further ſupplye) Monſr. Chattilion with certayne troupes of French, and the Collonell of the Scottiſh regiment, with his companies, beſyds a third regiment, which they call the Gueſes, whoe weare thoſe which revolted in the Fort of St Andrew at Bommell. All which troupes made vpp two thouſande, ſoe as there are aboue 7000 in the Towne, and (*ſub ſigillo confeſſionis*) I am playnly of opinion that it will be carried with tyme. Wherein it is not in our power to interrupt them, for that muſt be done with a powrefull army, which the States haue not. Thus haue you now as much newes as I can tell you, wherewith I end for this tyme, wiſhinge to heare of you, that you are in your Soveraynes favour.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.[1]

My Lord, althogh I haue forborn to anſwer ſome off your lettres, ſince his Maieſties happy comming to þe Crowne, becawſe ſome fals and idle

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter bears no date, but it must have been written after Sir Robert Cecyll was created Earl of Salisbury, which was in 1605. It is evidently intended for the Master of Gray, who undoubtedly succeeded his father in the year 1608, if not previously, (although *Douglas*, in his Peerage, gives the year 1609 for that event). This accounts for his being addressed as 'My Lord.' By a charter dated March 10, 1608, (confirmed by King James VI., *Mag. Sig.* L. 45, fo. 157,) the Master, under the title of 'Patrick Lord Gray,' gives *Marie Stewart, Lady Gray, his spouse*, the liferent of the dominical lands of Foullis, &c.; which proves that he must have been then in possession

ſhaddowes were caſt vppon our former correſpondencys, which time (þe parent of trewth) hath made as cleer to þe world, as it is to our owne ſowles, to haue ben free from any vnhoneſt ends: yet, leſt þat might be thoght to proceed from ſome ill impreſſion, which hath ben only th'effect of cawtion, (not to be miſjudged in the firſt eſtabliſhment of my fortune, which hath only proſpered by þe treu and princely judgment which his Maieſty vſed, when there was queſtion what is chaff and what is corn,) I haue thoght it now, leſs then þe deu to our precedent frendſhip (contracted ſimply and only for þe advancement of his Maieſties higheſt and iuſteſt deſires,) to let you know by this beſt convoy, of mine owne hand, both what I am to my ſelf and to you. Firſt, Sir, I muſt need acknoledg þat if I ſhall preferr any privat end of mine before his Maieſties ſervice, I deſerve to be wyped owt of þe book of lyfe, for (my Lord) neuer ſervant oght ſo much to King or Maſter. Secondly, I confeſs þat it is my ſecond ambition to be able to ſerve my freends in all honeſt occaſions. I pray your Lordſhip therfore conclude, þat it is neyther change of fortune, nor diſtance of place, which can make me proud or forgetfull, and therfore, let no doubt ſurpriſe yow þat I am not very ready to do you any frendly office. And for the contents of 2 of your laſt lettres, (one by Mr Panmeur, another by this bearir,) let this ſerve for anſwer. When yowr pen ſhall tell me yow are ready for your journey, I ſhall be as ready to procure yowr lycence. For your deſire þat I wold freend þe yong jentleman, I haue made him know my frendſhip towards yow, and therfore aſſured him of my reſpect to yowr recomendation, and thogh it be hard to draw water where þe poole is ſo exhawſted, yet hath he had ſome refreſhing as þe time wold ſerve, and therin muſt I do him right, þat it is farr vnder his owne meritt.

Laſtly, my Lord, for þe ſubiect wherof this jentleman ſhold haue ſpoken, (by þe creditt of your lettre,) let me tell you þat I ſhold haue ben of little vſe in þat perticuler; for, althogh I found by him þat yowr owne judgment of þe chang of his eſtate had made yow change yowr propoſition, yet (my

of the family estate and title. This deed also exposes another error of *Douglas*, who makes William Gray of Bandirrane the *son*, instead of the *brother*, of Patrick seventh Lord Gray. He is a witness to that deed, in which he is designed, '*Will. Gray de Bandirrane fratre germ. dicti Pat.*'

Lord) his condition before þe change was ſuch as exceeded þe limitts of my walks, which are alredy to lardg for me to extend further, hauing more to take care of then is either ſafe for my fortune, or likely for me to diſchardg, as I deſire to do, where I ow ſo much, as I know when I haue don all I can do, þat I ſhalbe but an vnprofictable ſervant. And thus hauing now preſented to yow both þe mynd and fortune of yowr old acquaintance, I end ſo, and will continew,

Your aſſured frend,

R. Salisbury.

If your journey depend vppon your health, I ſhalbe gladd it may ſtay.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.[1]

My Lord, Such is the difference and diſtinction between the neceſſarye correſpondencyes and formall courteſyes which paſſe between abſent freinds, as I ſhall not neede to ſay much for my ſilence, after ſoe often exchange of lettres, nor for my writinge now after ſo longe ſilence; ſeeing the change of tymes bredd the firſt alteration, and the accidents ariſinge ſince haue miniſtred new occaſion. For, as you lived then ſoe neere that fountayne, from whence this kingdome was to expect that peace and ſafetye only, (which rann ſuch a hazard in the declyninge adge of the late Queen, my gracious miſtreſs, of happie memorye,) as it became everye honeſt man, in dutye and diſcretion, to imbrace and cheriſh all that could or would giue vs here ether light or meanes to preſerue the ſame, eſpecially my ſelfe, whom practiſe had ſoe deeply wronged, and jealouſye (inſeperable from her ſex and diſpoſition, whoſe only creature I was till her laſt breath,) ſoe much amated, as I durſt ſcarſe take hould of any way or meanes, dyrectly or particulerly, to expreſs my inocent affections to the higheſt

[1] From the original, written in a clerk's hand, in the Advocates Library.

there, for feare to be ſuſpected here. Soe, when it pleaſed God (in the due tyme) to giue vs him, for whom we longed, (and with him ſuch a world of happines and ornament, as hath made this Iland like the ſoun in the firmament,) I held it none of the woorſt counſells for booth of vs, to dyſcontynew the ordinarye current of our former entercourſe, vntill ſome further tyme might cleere and ſatiffye ſome vayne and hard impreſſions of the grounds of our former correſpondencye.

It remayneth, therefore, now that I acquaynt you, that where a Booke was lately publiſhed here, intituled TRIPLICI NODO, TRIPLEX CUNEUS,[1] there is come from Rome a malicious Pamphlett in anſweare thereof; wherein (amonge other inſolent and virulent arguments and poſitions) there is one paſſage in it, wherein the Kinge our maiſter is charged to haue written to the Pope and certain Cardinalls in her Maieſties tyme. Of which great ſcandall, I haue thought it fitt to advertiſe you for diverſe reſpects: Firſt, becauſe it is the dutye of everye honeſt man (much more of men of place and qualitye) to imploye both *oleum et operam* for preſervation of their Maiſters perſon and fortune from ſcandall and falſe accuſation, eſpecially ſuch a King, whoe accompteth his greateſt ſtrength to conſiſt in his inocencye and ſinceritye, and in ſuch a cauſe, as cannot paſs away in ſilence, without his Maieſties extreeme perill and preiudice. Towards which great and neceſſarye woorke, on which his royall hart is ſoe much fixed, (and vppon ſoe iuſt grounds); though it is trew, that (amonge other of his ſervants) his Maieſty may expect from me more perticulerly then from any other, (in reſpect of my place,) ſome ſuch indevours as may further his royall

[1] This book was written by King James himself, and the answer to it by Cardinal Bellarmine. Sir George Carew, the English Ambassador, writes from France in 1608: "The book that hath been published by the title of '*Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus,*' was translated into French by some here, without my knowledge. But the Nuncio, hearing of it before it was fully printed, caused the impressions, by the Chancellor's commandment, to be forbidden. Tho' I guess at the author, yet, supposing there was good occasion for omitting his name, I thought it not fit to take any notice thereof publickly, without special direction. But I find that it is marvellously well received here among the learned men of this country, and specially Monsr. de V. and such like, so as I have written to a servant of mine in London to send me over some dozen or twenty copies of the same in Latin, or in French, if that impression be ended, to distribute among them here; for divers haue sent unto me for that purpose."—*Sloane* MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 4160, art. 144.

intentions; yet, (all circumſtances conſidered), I muſt be playne with you, my Lord, that I conceaue noe man can be of more vſe to him then you in this particuler. For which purpoſe I haue thought fitt to make you this diſpatch, not doubting but you will willingly contribute to his Maieſties pure and iuſt deſyres, and cooperate with me, (that am your ould acquayntance and freind,) in the furtherance of the ſame; the rather becauſe it ſhall appeare vnto you, as well in this particuler, as it hath done formerlye, that I haue been verye vnwilling to runn long in arere for any courteſyes with any man, or intend at this tyme to propound any thing to you, which ſhall not be of as good vſe to you as to my ſelf, when you ſhall well examyne the ſame. Firſt, his Maieſty doth well conſider, that there is nothing ſoe vntrew, but ſerues the tourne for the tyme, vntill tyme and truth confute the ſame. If this be trew, that his Maieſty hath done what is here reported, then muſt his Maieſty of neceſſitye be held, (as he is the greateſt King,) ſoe one of the greateſt diſſemblers. A wounde, (I dare vndertake,) more greivous to him then any worldly miſfortune, eſpecially when the leaſt note or marke may be ſett vppon him, for any weakneſſe or doubleneſſe in thoſe thinges, which haue any aſpect to religion or conſcience. For avoydance whereof, there is but one of theiſe two wayes for him to take: the one, by ſome diſcouverye or correſpondencye from thence, to procure certayne knowleidge whether this be trew or noe, that there are any ſuch lettres; and next, how the ſame haue been procured, to the intent that the fact it ſelfe may be conſtantly denyed, and the falſhood retorted vppon the authors, if this be one in the nomber of their legeons of lyes; or in caſe they haue any ſuch thing to ſhew, that there may be ſome meanes for his Maieſty to come to the knowleidge of thoſe that haue ſoe notoriouſly betrayed him, in contriving ſuch a practiſe, which his Maieſty knoweth can be by noe other meanes then by ſome ſurpriſing him vppon ſome ſodayne, with inſertinge thoſe lettres vppon other pretences. Having now made you ſee how our deare Maiſters honor lyes a bleeding, and made you likewiſe know my owne deſyres and ends, which are only to declare my ſelf noe leſs zealous then fortunate in this caſe, which concerneth him, whoe, for ſoe ſmall meritts, hath multiplyed ſoe many more benefitts vppon me then is poſſible for me to deſerue, and by me is held

more precious, and more deare, (if nature can add more to mans affections,) then I carryed to my late Souverayne, towards whom my loue and obligation weare ſoe great; I think good to remember you of that, which you imparted to me ſoe particulerly at your being in England, when Sir Richard Preſton was here after the 5th of Auguſt, concerning the imployment of Mr Dromond and ſome others, with lettres from the King to the Pope and the Cardinalls, for the preferment of the Biſhop of Veſon, as well to confirme the truth of booth our conceipts at that tyme, that the ſame might be gott, by ſome practiſe, from the King; as allſoe to intreat you (that had at that tyme ſoe particuler notyce of all the circumſtances) to acquaynt me by the next diſpatch, with as many particulers as you can remember of that matter, ether concerning Dromonds part in it, or any other that had been buſye agents, in obtayning or carrying the ſame; by whoſe follye, if the King wittinglie had repoſed any ſuch truſt in them, I remember wee were booth troubled to thinke what would be the effect. From which we ſee now their mallice can noe longer hold them. Hereby you ſhall both add to me ſome better grounds to ſett my owne intelligence a woorke, and, if I iudg aright, doe noe ill ſervice to your ſelfe, by making his Maieſty ſee ſome effect of your endevours, even in this particuler, wherein you haue not ſcaped ſome imputation, by the charitye which ſome of your illwillers lent you at that tyme, as if you had been one that had dealt in the ſame. I haue required this bearer to attend your pleaſure, and retourne to me your anſweare, with all ſpeed. And ſoe, wiſhing you health and all contentment, I end.

25 7bre 1608.

Your aſſured louinge
frend
R Salisbury

LORD GRAY TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.[1]

. . . . . .

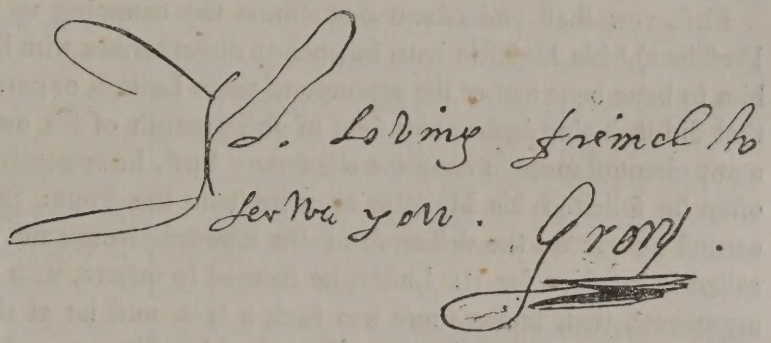
the world, and I think micht ſay as mutch as trewlie in this for his Maieſtie, as any now haith lyf, his Maieſties ſelf only exceptit. Bot my health is ſo wariable, that I dare nether promit, nor attempt any ſuch burding. Bot his Maieſties ſelf, with a litle cronologicall memoriall, can beſt informe in that erand of all within this yſl. I leawe, then, to forther occaſion and better memorie the pedegre of this malitious deſing; and haue anſuerit only to your Lordſhips firſt point direcly, that ſuch letteris they haue at Rome, at what tym receauit, and by whom. Now to the ſecond, whither or no the maiter be trew or fals, appeirantly his Maieſtie can beſt reſolwe that doubt; for I put it not in queſtion bot he wilbe plaine with yow, ſeing God haith bliſſit him (without all flatterie) with ſupernaturall and not comoun wit, to ſee as fare in his owin princely affaires as any that evir did rigne in Europe, and in being plaine, no errour can chance to a prince, bot ether may be redreſſit or comlie excuſit. This practiſe can not be baptiſit a treuth, without his Maieſtie, be willing knowledge, hawe accordit to the wryting of ſutch letteris, the ſending of them, and wittingly hawe ſignit them. If ſo he hawe, then eaſie for him is it to remember who gewe his Maieſtie ſo pernitious a counſell. And for his Maieſties exoneration, *Sit malum concilium conſultori peſſimum qui peccauit in ſuum caput:* for, indeid, he haith mowit his Maieſtie to that inconvenient which long was ſocht agenſt his Maieſtie, and yet could never be attenit vnto, nor none that ever haid credit about him durſt hazard to motion; albeit it be verie weill knawin to my ſelf, that dyverſs practiſes hawe bene lede for that propos, bothe in the tym I haid credit of his Maieſtie, and in tym of my exill, and lykwayis ſince.[2] Bot for my

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter is unfortunately imperfect, the first sheet being wanting.

[2] The Master of Gray, while residing in Italy in 1599, had discovered King James's letter to the Pope, and transmitted a copy of it to Elizabeth.—*Robertson's History of Scotland,* 8vo., vol. 3, p. 139.

ſelf, I fand it his Maieſties only weill to follow a contrarie courſs. So I defye all calumnies to tuitch me in that or the lyk cace, and am weill aſſured his Maieſtie will purge me to be cleir of any ſutch maiter; for I never inclynit once that way, nether in counſell nor action, ſince the 83 [1583] that I enterit in the Engliſh courſs at his Maieſties commandement, wherin I wes the firſt that ever brocht it from doubtfulnes and hardnes to that amitie which did in end effectuat all owr happines. And if my fortune be to leiwe, I diſpaire not yet to reapt for it my owin thankes: althocht, I proteſt to God, I am not invyous of any manis happines. Bot I retourne to this practiſe: if it be fals, one of two, ether a ſurpryſe, or then a plainly contriuit falſhead. If a ſurpryſe, eaſie it is for his Maieſtie to divine who could performe ſutch a hich attemptat, and who in the 600 [1600] yeir haid authoritie or place about him to do it, for it wes to great a mote for a petit compaigzeon to hawe ſwollowit. And if his Maieſtie find it a ſurpryſe, I am perſuadit, ſo ſoun as it ſhall come to the notice of the actor, he ſhall condemne him ſelf as for alredy a hangit man, and ſo his Maieſtie is free. If it be altogither contriuit or conterfit, meiteſt it is, in my opinion, that all be keipit ſecret, and a practyſe layd doun to draw Drommond ether into Scotland or England, which is eaſie to do with his Maieſties only connivence, and ſo yow ſhall decover *le pot aulx roſes*. Bot my owin opinion is, that altogither it is fals and contrivit: For at my being in Chillinghame, when as her lait Maieſtie without her offence wold not permit me to enter in Scotland, till once I ſhould come bak to her, and then to go by ſea, without any neceſſarie ground mowing her to it (God knoweth and your ſelf) ſave her owin pleaſur, and I was lothe to diſpleaſe her; and ſo maid promeis and performit; at that tym my wyf came to Chillinghame to me, and at her retourne I commandit her to ſay to his Maieſtie, that he haid employit verie indiſcreit knaifes at Rome; which ſche feallit not to ſay, Drommond then being in Scotland, bak from Rome: which, all being conſiderit, makes me think, if it haid not bene altogither fals, his Maieſtie, on the licht I ſend him, ſould hawe aſkit Drommond. So my conceat carieth me to think, that the practiſer heth abuſit his Maieſtie altogither. And if this be trew, his Maieſtie then, efter Drommonds tryell, can eaſelie not only decerne, bot lykwayis ley it af him ſelf *cum*

decoro. Bot I ſhall, ſo ſoun as my health permittis me, on your Lordſhips advertiſment, ſend yow a litle cronologie for a memoriall of this practiſe from the infancie of it, for it haith bene in brewing ever ſince his Maieſtie put him ſelf in abſolut governement. And yet the lyk avantage could never be haid over his Maieſtie till the 600 [1600] yeir. Bot I am preſently ill at eaſe, and I weirie your Lordſhip, and I doubt me greattumly, in reſpect of a cawtere in my richt arme, that yow hardly ſhall reid this, I thocht nocht meit to commit this ſubiect to the hand of any vther bot to myn owin.



If your Lordſhip hawe occaſion to wryt bak, I wold be glaid, if yow hawe it, that yow ſould ſend me the buk *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*, togither with the reports from Rome: and ſhall reid and retourne all.

Your Lordſhips lettre came to me this Sonday tymly ſend by Sir William Bowyer the 2 of 8re, and this ſame nicht hawe diſpetchit him; who ſhall go from my howſs Fowlls, God willing, befor ſun ryſing, Monday the 3 8er, 1608.

The peſt is become about me extreame, ſo that I am to flee to Edinbruch, in reſpect of my childring, and I think it wes ſum hinder to this berar; who, I think, if your Lordſhip hawe forther occaſion, ſhall find me at Edinbruch.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.[1]

My Lord, hauing receaued an anſwere from your Lordſhip, to a letter of myne, (writtin with his Maieſties priuitye and direction), I think it my part to lett yow know what is become of the matter then in queſtion, and how his Maieſtie hathe accepted your anſwere.

Firſt, yow ſhall vnderſtand that (ſince the comming vp of the Lord Preſident),[2] his Maieſtie hath fallen into direct termes with him, charging him to haue bene eyther the procurer of thoſe Letters, or partye with thoſe that did it, laying before him (out of the ſtrength of his owne memory) many circumſtances to confirme the ſame: Firſt, he remembreth him how often he ſolicited his Maieſtie to write vnto the Pope: Secondly, how earneſt he was for the deliuerye of Sir Edward Dromount[3] when he was called in queſtion for it: Laſtly, he ſeemed to inferre, with verye violent arguments, that, ſeeing there was ſwch a fact, and he at that tyme the onely miniſter of his diſpatches, Keeper of his Signett, and intereſſed in the cauſe that ſhould be recommended, he muſt needs conclude, that he was able to lay open the truthe with all his circumſtances; adding ſerious proteſtations, that he muſt not expect in this caſe to be exempted from ſuch courſe of examinations as was vſuall in ſuch caſes. That now your Lordſhip may perceaue what it is when Kings haue right of theire ſyde, (whome Almightye God, as his annoynted more miraculouſly preſerueth and protectethe then any other of his crætures), and what it workethe when a ſtrong witt in a King ſetts it ſelfe to ſearch truthe, I muſt ſhortly tell yow, that this vnfortunat noble man (euen at the firſt ſurpriſe) gaue himſelfe no leſſe wound then to confeſſe ſo much of the mat-

[1] From the original, in a clerk's hand, in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

[2] James Elphinstone, first Lord Balmerino.

[3] See *Lord Strathallan's Genealogy of the House of Drummond* (p. 153, 1831, 4to) for an account of Sir Edward Drummond, where he is erroneously named *David*. He appears to have been cousin both to Balmerino and the Bishop of Vaison.

ter, as to haue concealed what he knew (*ex poſt facto*) of that action, whereof he could not denye himſelfe to haue bene the propoſitor, though not the originall inſtrument, after he had found his Maieſtie took no lyking of it.

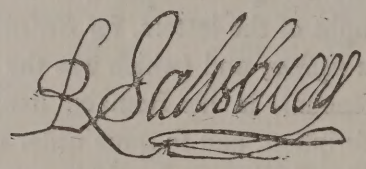
When thus much had paſſed from him, which was onely a putting it from himſelfe to Dromount, I need not tell yow how cloſely the King would beare vp to draw the reſt. Yow know ſo much better then I what his Maieſties ſharpe and percing judgment was lyke to do, it being ſufficient for me to tell yow, that the next degree he was brought to, was, in effect, a plaine confeſſion of the whole fact, and the circumſtances; which was no leſſe then, that after he had moued his Maieſtie to write, and bene refuſed it, he was ſo poſſeſſed with an opinion, that the conſequence of ſuch a recommendacion might be of good vſe to him, as he could not free his thoughts of the matter till he had effected it; and therefore, hauing wrought the King to be contented to write to the Cardinall of Lorraine, Duck of Florence, and Duck of Sauoye, in the fauour of Veſon,[1] (as he ſhould haue any occation to recommend the ſame), he watched his opportunitie in a morning when the King was going a hunting, and ſo ſhuffled in thoſe letters to the Pope and thoſe two Cardinalls vnder colour of the other, which, being once ſigned, he cauſed ſome ſpaces, which he had left in the draught of the letters, for *Serenitatis veſtræ* to be conuerted into *Sanctitatis veſtræ*, and (which was the bitter word indeed) did cauſe Sir Edward Dromount, in his Romaine hand, to write *filius* aboue *Jacobus* in the ſubſcription, and ſo gaue order to put the Signett to it.

Thus hath your Lordſhip now the ſtory of this vnpleaſant ſubiect, being the diſcouerie of an offence of this nature in ſuch an officer, as no Prince can eſcape the danger, if that priuacy of truſt be ill applied. To the King this diſcouerye hath brought an infinite contentment, who, though he knew himſelfe pure and innocent in thought and actions, held himſelfe ſtill ſcandalized in the world, before it pleaſed God to bring this to light; wherein his Maieſties owne memory hath bene the beſt helpe to redeeme his honor that lay at the ſtack, for otherwiſe I ſee not (Dromount being

[1] William Chisholm, Bishop of Vaison, of the family of Chisholm of Cromlix.

out of hand) how this nobleman could haue bene directly convinced of the ſame; of whoſe caſe I confeſſe to yow, (for many good parts that were in him), I cannot but be very ſory, ſuch men being ſooner loſt then found; onely this I may aſſure yow, that vntill his Maieſtie ſaw himſelfe as clere as the ſunne in the firmament, his ſpiritts were ſo full of anxietye, as, had he bene my brother, I muſt rather haue wiſhed his fall then his vexation, to whome, not only as my Souerayne, but as the moſt dere maſter that euer ſeruant had, I owe more then any other both of lyfe and fortune. It remayneth now, my Lord, that I aſſure your Lordſhip, though your letter brought him nothing but a confirmation and reuiuing to his memory of thoſe thinges that had paſſed in former tymes, (for which it ſeemed he neuer needs memorialls), and wherein I perceaue yow little dreamed of this lighting place, yett the forme of your letter gaue him ſo much ſatiſfaction as he hath willed me to tell yow, that he held the ſame to proceed from a hart full of honeſty and affection to do him ſeruice; which newes no man ſhall make more haſt to tell yow, then he ſhall do at all tymes, that is and euer wilbe

Your Lordſhips aſſured louing friend,



Whitehall, this 30th
of October [1608].

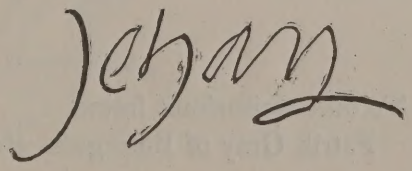
APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

LICENCE, JOHN DUKE OF ALBANY TO PATRICK FOURTH LORD GRAY.[1]

Dux

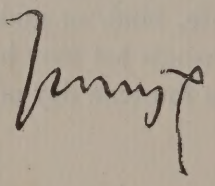
Jhon, be þe grace of Gode, Gouernar of Scotland, Duke of Albany; and for ſo mekyll as certane conſideracions hes mowyt vs to lycent our cuſyng and conſiliare Patrik Lord Gray to remane at haym fra þis hoſt, proclamyt in to þe fiftene day of Auguſt now inſtant; þairfor We gyfe lycence to þe ſaid Patrik to pas haym in his awne contray, and to remane in quhat place he pleſis, quhil þe parlyament þat is to be haldyng in October nyxt to come, Wee diſcharge þe ſaid Patrik of þe hoſte for ſaid, and all hoſtis þat is to come, to þe ſayd October, and it ſall be na pregyteis to hys lyfe, land, or gude, to remane at haym: and We diſcharge hym of all thyngis þat may be imputit þairapon; þat wryt ſubſcriwyt vith our hand, þe fourtene day of Auguſt, þe ȝeyr of Gode I^{m} v^{c} and xv ȝeris.



[1] From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

KING JAMES V. TO PATRICK GRAY OF BUTTERGASK.[1]

Weilbelouit freind, We grete ȝow wele; fforſamekill as þat ane half of þe airſchip gudis of vmquhile Patrik Lord Gray, þat laſt deceſſit, perteins to ws throw forfaltour of Johnne Lyoun, ſumtyme Lord Glammis, þat ane of þe tua airis of þe ſaid vmquhile Patrik, and that vþer half þairof perteins, and ſuld pertene, to Andro Stratoun of þat Ilk, þat vþer of þe airis of þe ſaid vmquhile Patrik, and We haue diſponit and gevin oure half of þe ſaid airſchip gudis to þe ſaid Andro: Quhilkis haill airſchip gudis ȝe haue intromettit with, and hes in ȝour handis and keping, Oure Will is heirfore, and We charge ȝow ſtraitlie, and commandis þat, incontinent efter þe ſicht heirof, ȝe deliuer þe ſaidis haill airſchip gudis to þe ſaid Andro Stratoun, for the caus aboue writtin, within ſex dais nixt efter þe preſenting and deliuering of þir preſents to ȝow, as ȝe will report ſpecialle thanks of ws þairfore, and do ws ſinglar empleſowr, and anſowr to ws þairupoun at ȝour vter charge; keiping þis writing for ȝour warrand. Subſcriuit with our hand at Craufurd Johne, þe xvj day of Julij, and of our Regnne þe xxviij ȝeir.



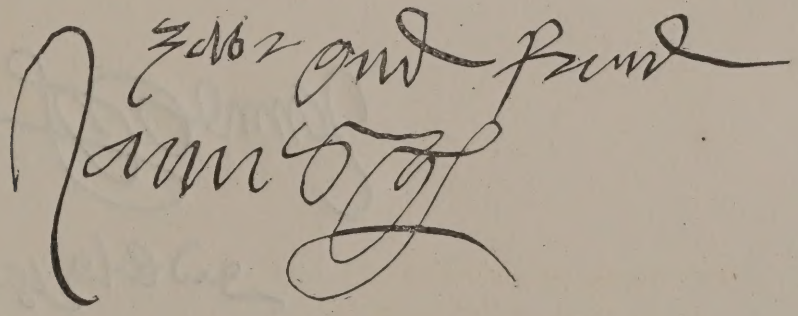
To oure weilbelouit freind
Patrik Gray of Butergaſk, etc.

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. Patrick Gray of Buttergask was afterwards fifth Lord Gray.

JAMES, EARL OF ARRAN, REGENT, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.[1]

GUBERNATOR

TRAIST COUSING, We commend ws to 3ow hartlie; fforſamekle as We ar ſurelie aduertiſt þat diuers grete perſonis of þis realme, baith ſpirituall and temporall, tendis preſentlie tocum to þe burgh of Edinburgh, and vtheris burrowis of þis realme, with convocatioun and gadering of þe liegis, bodin in feir of weir, and in forme of ane army, quhilk is agains þe commoun weill, Conſidering þair is na neceſſare caus quhy þe ſamin ſuld be done; bot, gif it be to vſurpe þe Queins Gracis auctoritie, and to invaid ws, OURE WILL IS heirfore, and We charge 3ow ſtraitlie, and commandis, in þe Queins Gracis name and auctoritie, þat, incontinent þis oure lettre ſene, That 3e addres 3ow to be at ws in Lythquho, bodin in feir of weir, with 3our houſhald, kin and freindis, with ſex dayis victuall, þe xxiij day of Julij, for þe defens and furthbering of þe Queins Gracis auctoritie, and repreſſing of þame þat wald conſpire and conſpiris agains þe ſamin, vnder þe paine of treſſoun, as 3e will anſuere to ws þairupoun. Gevin vnder oure Signet and ſubſcriptioun, at Edinburgh þe xx day of Julij, the 3eir of God Iᵐ vᶜ and xliij 3eris.



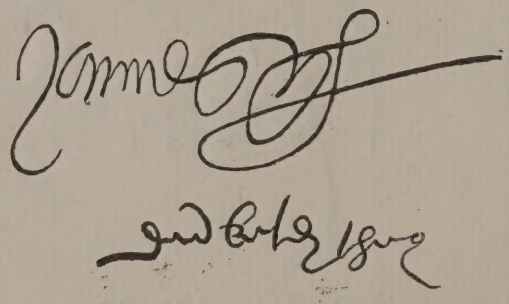
To our traiſt Couſing and Conſalour
Lord Gray.

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

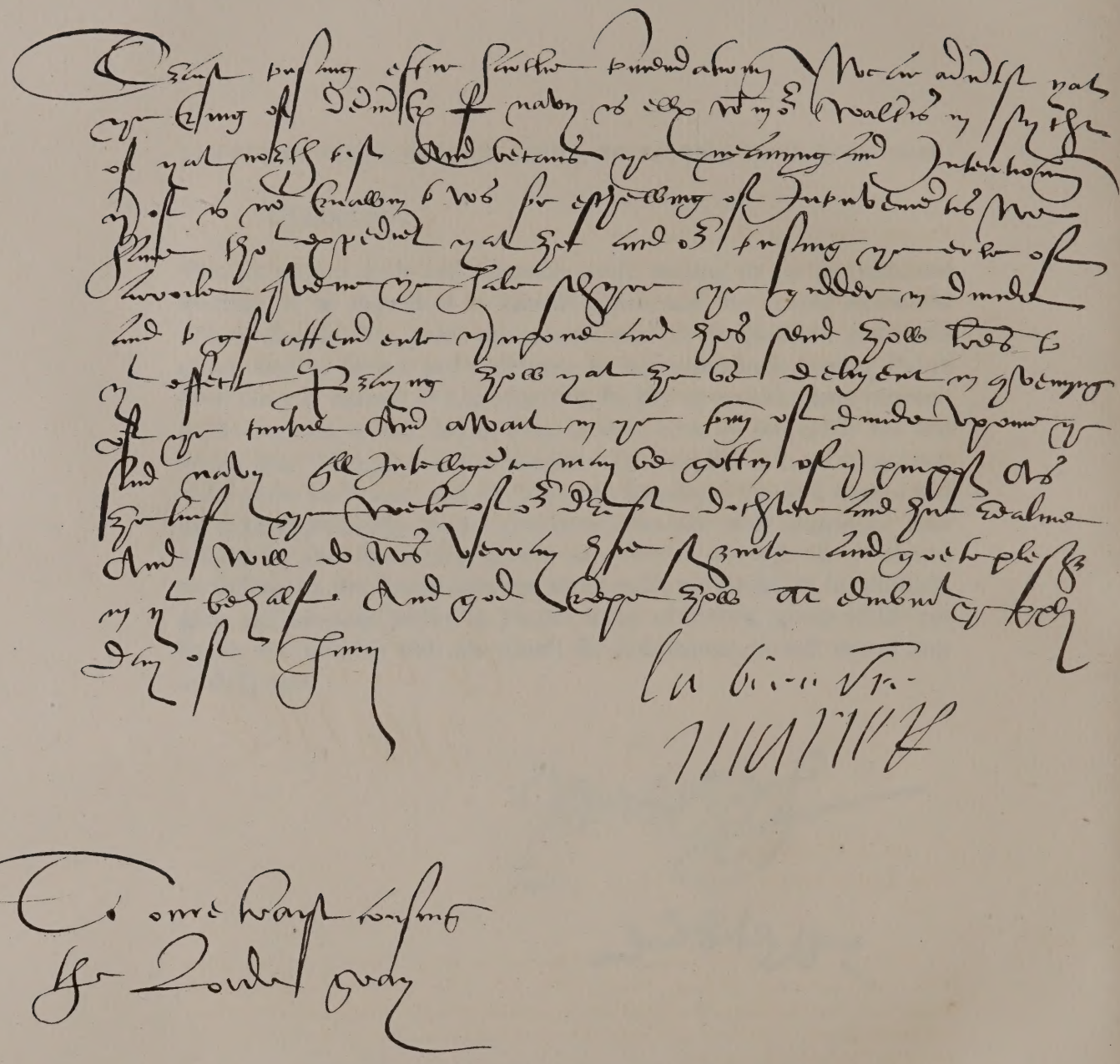
LICENCE BY JAMES, EARL OF ARRAN, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.[1]

GUBERNATOR

WE, for certane gude and reſonable cauſis moving ws for þe tyme, and ſpecialie at þe requeſt of þe Quenis Grace, and our bruþer Archebald Erle of Ergyle, has gevin and grantit, and be þir preſents, gevis and grants ane fre licence and tollerance to our welebelouit couſing Patrik Lord Gray to remane at hame him ſelf, fra þis our preſent armye convenit at Hadingtoun, þe laſt day of Junij in xlviij ȝers, ay and quhill our ſaid bruþer Erle of Ergyle cum þair him ſelf: The ſaid Patrik Lord Gray ſend- and fourthe his bruþer, with his folks and freinds, to our ſaid armye; and þat nochtwithſtanding any our proclamationes paſt afore herupoun: And will þat þe ſaid Lord Gray incure na crime of leis maieſtie þerthrow, be byding fra our ſaid armye, nor to be callit nor pwniſt in his perſoun, guds nor heretage þerfor, be þis our letter of licence, gevin vnder our ſignet, and ſubſcriuit with our hand, At Liddyntoun, þe firſt day of July in xlviij ȝers.

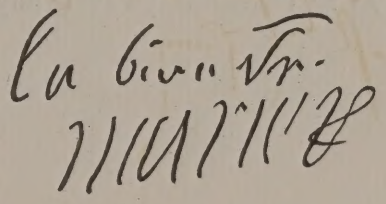


[1] From the original in the possession of Francis Lord Gray.



MARY OF GUISE, QUEEN REGENT, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.[1]

TRAIST COUSING, eftir hartlie commendatioun; We ar aduertift þat þe King of Denmerks navy is ellis within our walteris in fycht of þat north coift, and becaus þe meanyng and intentioun þerof is nocht knawin to ws, for efchewing of inconveniencis, We haue thocht expedient þat ȝe, and our coufing þe Erle of Arroile, convene þe hale fchyre þe gidder in Dundie, and to gif attendence þerupone, and hes fend ȝow lettres to þat effect; Praying ȝow þat ȝe be deligent in convenyng of þe cuntrie, and await in þe town of Dundie vpone þe faid navy, quhill intelligence may be gottin of þer purpos; as ȝe luif þe wele of our dereft dochter and hir realme, and will do ws verray hie feruice, and grete plefour in þat behalf. And God kepe ȝow. At Edinburgh þe xxvj day of Junij.



To our traift coufing
the Lorde Gray.

[1] From the original in the possession of Francis Lord Gray. There is no year given in this order, but it may, probably, be assigned to 1557, when 'þis ȝeire in Julay, Hother Tranberne comes ambassador from the Ladey Anna, Duchesse of Oldenburghe, Vestfrisland, and Delamahurst, to Scotland, and concludes a peace with this croune for 100 ȝeires.'—*Balfour's Annals*, vol. i. p. 306.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.[1]

TRAST COUSING, efter hartlye commendatioun; nochtwithſtanding of þe gude report hes bene maid to ws of 3ow, 3eit We ar verray blyith to ſe be 3our lettres þe intire affectioun 3e haue evir had to our vmquhill Moþeris ſeruice and ours, and is nocht vnknawing to ws þe contentement ſche had of 3ow, with þe gud will to maik 3ow knaw þe ſamyn, quhairas We will haue na les of our part, traiſting 3e will continew 3our gude affectioun, and þe condigne offices 3e haue vſit, induring thir trubles, amangis 3our freyndes, to continew þame in thair dewtie and obedience aucht to ws; Praying 3ow to gif nowþer fauour nor cenſour to na thing bot to [quhat] 3e beleue be conform to our intentions; quhairof 3e ſall evir be aduertiſt, as þe maters ſall ſucceid in thir partis, of þe quhilks We pray 3ow aduertis ws of 3our advis, be frequent vriting. Sua We pray God preſerue 3ow. At St Germains, þe aucht day of October.[2]

Zour gud freynde
Marie

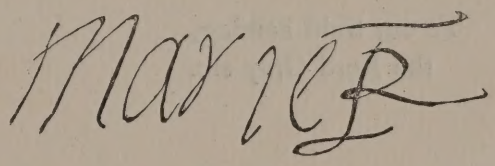
To our couſing the
Lord Gray.

From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

[2] This letter must have been written in Oct. 1560, as Mary of Guise died in June of that year, and Queen Mary returned to Scotland in August 1561.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK, FIFTH LORD GRAY.[1]

TRAIST COUSING, We grete 3ow weill. Oure perliament, quhilk wes appointid to haue bene haldin þe ferd day of Februar inſtant, is be ws continewit vnto þe xij day of Merche nixtocum; and leiſt 3e mycht be ignorant of þe ſaid continewatioun, and thairthrow abſent 3our ſelff fra cuming to oure ſaid parliament, We haue thocht gud, be þis oure lettre, to put 3ow in remembirance of þe ſaid continewatioun, and to deſire and pray 3ow effectiouſlie þat 3e will nocht faill to be at ws in oure burgh of Edinburgh þe ferd day of þe ſaid moneth of Merche, for 3our avys and opinioun to be had in ſic things as ar to be treatid in oure ſaid perliament; As 3e will do ws acceptabill ſeruice and pleſour in þat be halff. Subſcriuit with oure hands, at oure palice of Halirudhous, þe xxiij day of Februar, 1565.



To our traiſt couſing,
the Lord Gray.

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.[1]

TRAIST COUSING, We greit ȝou weill. The baptiſme of our deareſt ſone the Prince wilbe ſchortlie, and þat in Streueling, quhairvnto the Ambaſſatours of the gretaſt Princes in Chriſtandome will reſort, and than it is maiſt neidfoull that we be honorabillie accumpanyt, ȝe will here of the tyme and dyett; quhilk we pray ȝow effectuuſlie addres ȝou to keip, apparellit in ſic honeſt maner as the tyme and occaſioun cravis, according to the eſtait of your hous; ffor ȝe will not agane in many ȝeiris haue the like thyng in hand; and heirintill ȝe will do ws maiſt thankfull ſeruice and pleſour. Subſcriuit with our hand, at Crammald,[2] the xvj day of Auguſt, 1566.

MARIE R.

To our traiſt couſing,
the Lord Gray etc.

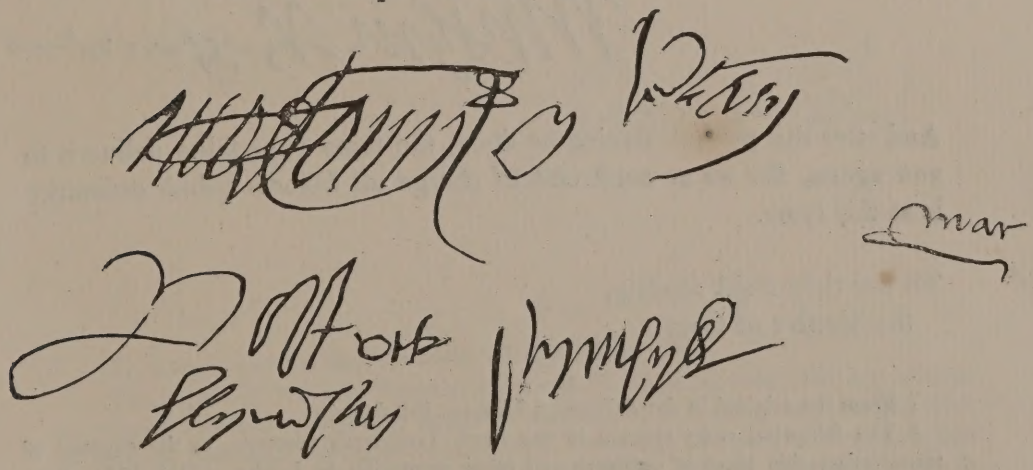
[1] From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

[2] Crammald, or Cranalt, now Meggetland, is situated in Peebles-shire.

EARL OF MORTON, AND OTHER LORDS, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.[1]

My Lord, eftir maiſt hertlie commendationes: It is reſoluit to diſpatche Robert, Commendatare of Dunfermling,[2] towardes the Quene of England, with ſic a lettir and credit as ȝour Lordſhip may perſaue: And becaus the ſame wilbe þe mair honorable, and haue the grettar auctoritie, the mor Noblemen and of the Eſtatis that ſubſcriue it, we haue ſend the lettre and inſtructionis to your Lordſhip to be ſubſcriuit, prayand ȝour Lordſhip to ſubſcriue the ſame, that þe berar may returne thairwith howſone may be, becaus the ſonar the diſpatche be maid, the ſonar will we reſſaue reſolutioun. And ſen the neceſſitie of this Commoun weill cravis the ſame, we doubt not bot ȝour Lordſhip wilbe willing to the furtherance and expeditioun thairof. And ſua for the preſent we commit ȝour Lordſhip in the protectioun of God. At Edinburgh the xx day of Marche, 1569.

Your Lordſhips aſſured freindis,



To my lord, my Lord Gray.

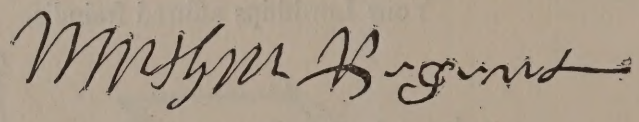
[1] From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

[2] Robert Pitcairn.

MATHEW, EARL OF LENNOX, REGENT, TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, AFTERWARDS SIXTH LORD GRAY.[1]

RICHT TRAIST COUSING, efter maiſt hertlie commendatioun, We vnderſtand that thair is ane irne ȝetling,[2] apprehendit in the Forth of Bruchtie, the tyme of the wynning þerof, now in ȝour hous of Bruchty, quhairwith we haue preſentlie to do for the Kingis ſeruice; and þairfoir, we deſyr ȝow effectuuſlie, that ȝe will not faill to caus deliuer the ſaid irne ȝetling, with ſic furnitour as ſhe hes ganand for hir, to the berair heirof, to be tranſportit to Leyth, as we haue appointit; quhairin ȝe ſall declair ȝour gude affectioun to the Kingis ſeruice, and will ſpeciall and gude pleſour. Thus we committ ȝow in the protectioun of God. At Striueling, the laſt day of Auguſt, 1571.

Your aſſurit freind,



And efter the preſent ſeruice be done, the ſame pece ſalbe deliuerit to ȝow agane, ffor we ar conſtrenit to charge all freindis quhair ordinance is at this tyme.

To our richt traiſt couſing,
the Maiſter of Gray.

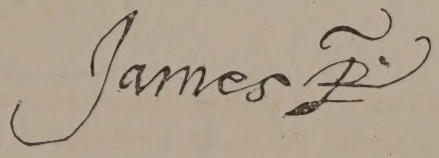
1 From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

2 The following entry appears in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, as the expense of transporting this piece of ordnance and other amunition to Leith:—'Oct. 1571. Item to Robert Gardnar gunnar, for expens maid be him in passing to Perth, Dundie, Bruchtie, and vþers partis, for bringing of ane irne pece, bullettis, and bying of bullettis, tymmer, and boit fraucht to the schoir and peir of Leith, hors hire and feis; as ane compt given in be the said Robert, and subscriuit with his hand, schawin and producit vpon compt beirs, xxvli iijs iiijd.

DISCHARGE, KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

REX.

WE, be the tenour heirof, giueis and grantis to Patrick Maiſter of Gray, an full diſchairdge of all gould, jowells, claithing, or any vther our menagerie, quhatſumeuer quherwith he haid intromiſſioun, be reaſoun of his office of Maiſter of our Gardrob;[2] and exoneris, quytclamis, and frely diſchairdges the ſaid Maiſter of the ſame for ever; in reſpect, in preſence of our ſelfis, he hes maid to the Auditoris of our Eſcheker an cleir compt of all his intromiſſioun, quhilk ve allou be thir preſents. Subſcryuit vith our hand at Holyrudhous, the 15 of December, 1586.

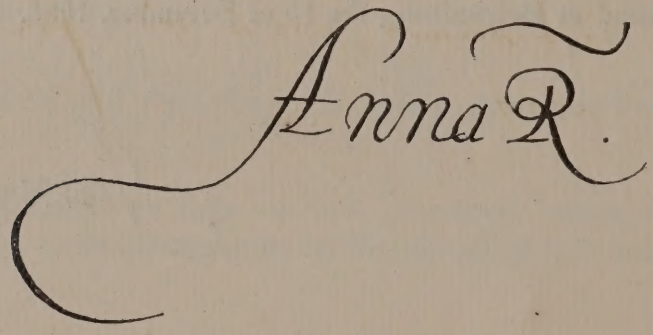


[1] From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

[2] The Master of Gray was Master of the King's Wardrobe in June 1585, and it seems he resigned the office on his being appointed Ambassador to England in December 1586. He appears, from the following entry in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, to have again held that office in 1595: 'August, 1595.—Item be his Hienes speciall comand delyverit to Patrik Master of Gray, Master of the Garderob, ane littill coffer to contene the Prince's claithes, viij li.'

QUEEN ANNA TO MARY STEWART, MISTRESS OF GRAY.[1]

Trest Cousingness, We greit yow hartlyie weill. The tyme now approaching of our entryie within Dundie, and conſiddring alſo how neceſſaryie it is for our eſtate to be honorablye convoyed, we have thought expedient, be thir lynes, to requeiſt yow to accumpanye ws in that iornay; and to that effect we deſyre yow to attend vpon ws in the toune of Saint Jhonſton, the xj of this inſtant, quhairby ȝe ſal do ws maiſt acceptable pleſour. Thus, truſting to the fulfilling of our deſyre, we committ yow to God. Fra Falkland, the vj of September, 1597.



To our Right treſt couſingneſs,
the Maiſtres of Gray.

[1] From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

Trust Cousingwes we greit yow [illegible] will. The hyme our
approaching of our entrye within Dundie and considering also
how necessarye it is for our estate to be honorablye accompanyed
we have thought expedient heirby to requeist yow to
accompanye us in that journay and to that effect we desyre
yow to attend upon us in the feast of Sanct Johnston nixt or
of this instant quhilk we sal do us maist acceptable
pleasour And wrestand to the fulfilling of your desyre
we committ yow to God Fra falkland the xxvj of Septembr
1617

Anna R

To our Right trust Cousingwes
the Maistrs of Dun

Sr. I Landit That same nicht I left you last at
eicht houris and wes in danger amongst the craiges
and nedder in my Lyff so lerk. How I mete wt Tho.
mas Hendrysone of Edinb: he hes no newis sane of
The earle of Gowryes death, he tellis it in The same
sorte as ye hane herd it. Ther is execute mr Th:
Cranstoun and George Craigingelt Burges honest men of
St Johnestoun. They or executed for That They wer
fund to be in armes befor The rest. This man The
wes of him is boottit mr Willie Rynd, and hes
depoint no thing sane That my Lord Stadtit mayis him
Italie and frame and heel Spritis. His chamber
Lane wes Sould hane slaine The king is yet
keipt. Mr. Patrik Galloway hes practeisit all This
in The pulpit of Edinb. Bott of The magie and
treasone, bot all wes or dead confesst no thing
The k. efter The preatching sueir solemnelly that
all wes tren he held preatchit by his sallvation
and condemnation. The rest of The ministers wes
preassit to subscryne that it wes tren, bot They
refusit yat They grantit to thank god for his
mar delyverence: and so They or banist. Richart
prestoun is at Lounddoun, bot as yet I knaw not
Quat They say to him from London ye shall
Dover. 28 Sept. heir all: And I remaine Your Lonis frend
1600. Dauid Bruce - Groy.

Sorye I cowld nocht wryte Frenche That my Lord of Gowry wes a Scotte bischope The Pope and The rest of The ministers will not beleve Em.

LETTER FROM PATRICK SIXTH LORD GRAY.[1]

Sir, I landit that ſame nicht I left you lait at eicht houris, and ves in danger amongſt the Craiges, and never in my lyf ſo ſeik. Heir I mete vith Thomas Hendryſone of Edinb.; he hes no neues ſaue of th'Earll of Gouryes death. He tellis it in the ſame ſorte as ye haue hard it. Ther is execute Mr Th. Cranſtoun and George Craigingelt, vith ſevin honeſt men of St Johnſtoun. They ar executed for that they ver fund to be in armes befor the reſt. His man vho ves vith him is boottit, Mr Villiam Rynd, and hes deponit no thing, ſaue that my Lord ſtudiit magik in Italie and France, and hed ſprittis. His chamberlane, vho ſhould haue ſlaine the King, is yet keipit. Mr Patrik Gallouay hes preatchit all this in the pulpit of Edinb., bothe of the magic and treaſoun, bot all vho ar dead confeſſit no thing. The King efter the preatching ſueir ſolemnelly that all ves treu he hed preatchit, by his ſaluation and condemnation. The reſt of the miniſters ves preaſſit to ſubſcryue that it ves treu, bot they refuſit; yet they grantit to thank God for his Maieſties delyuerence: and ſo they ar baniſit. Richart Preſtoun is at Lonndoun, bot as yet I knou not vhat they ſay to him. From Londoun ye ſhall heir all: And I remaine your louing freind and couſing,

Gray.

Dover, 28 Sept.
1600.

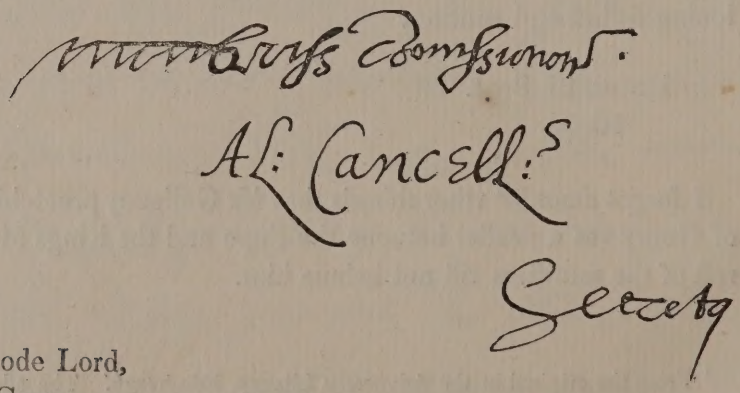
I forgot amongſt vther thingis that Mr Gallouay preatchit, that th'Earle of Goury ves a dealler betuene the Pope and the Kings Maieſtie, bot the reſt of the miniſters vill not beleue him.

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. The address of this letter is carefully obliterated.

SUMMONS TO PATRICK SIXTH LORD GRAY, TO ATTEND PARLIAMENT.[1]

EFTER our verie hairtlie commendationis to 3our gude Lordſhip, It has pleſit the Kingis Maieſtie, for ſome wechtie and grit conſiderationis, to appoint and ordane ane new Conventioun of the Nobilitie, Counſell, and Eſtaittis of this kingdome, to be aſſemblit heir at Edinburgh, vpoun the aucht day of Auguſt nixtocome, to conſult, treat, and deliberat, vpoun ſic materis as at that tyme ſalbe proponit and appynit vp vnto thame; and thairfoir, according to his Maieſteis ſpeciall directioun, We haue heirby thocht meit to requeiſt and deſyre 3our Lordſhip effectuouſlie, that 3e faill not, all excuiſſis ſett aſyde, to be heir vpoun the ſevint day of the ſaid moneth of Auguſt nixt, to the effect 3e may be preparit vpoun the morne thairefter to convene with the remanent of the Eſtaittis, and to confer, auyſe, conſult and vote, in ſic thingis as at that tyme ſalbe proponit. And ſua, reſting aſſured of 3our preceis keping of this dyett, as 3e reſpect his Maieſteis obedience and ſeruice, we committ 3our Lordſhip to God. Frome Edinburgh the xix day of Junij, 1605.

Your Lordſhips goode freindis,



To our very goode Lord,
the Lord Gray.

[1] From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

WARRANT IN FAVOUR OF PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.[1]

We, wnderſubſcryveand of his Majeſteis counſall of Scotland, conforme to his Majeſteis warrand, haveing ſichtit and conſiderit the ſowmeis of money addettit be his Majeſtie to Patrik Maiſter of Gray, Findis the ſamin to [amount] to the ſowme of Nynteine thowſand nyne hundrethe fourſcoir thrie pundis iiij s̃ xj d̃ money of Scotland: Quhilk ſowme, conforme to his Majeſteis warrand, We will and deſyre ȝow, Dauid Lord of Scone, his Majeſteis Comptroller of Scotland, to pay and delyver to the ſaid Maiſter of Gray, and that of the radieſt of ȝowr intromiſſioune in the ſaid office: Quhairanent his Majeſteis warrand foirſaid, with thir preſentis, and the ſaid Maiſteris diſcharge, ſall be ſufficient allowance to ȝou at ȝour comptis making. Subſcryveit with our handis, at Perthe, the ellevint day of Julij, 1606.

Montroiss Commissionar.

Al. Cancells.

Dounbar.

J. Secrets.

S. T. Hamilton.

[1] From the original, preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh.

NOTICES OF THE FAMILY OF GRAY, EXTRACTED FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE LORDS HIGH TREASURERS OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE YEAR 1529 TO THE YEAR 1602.

Nov. 24, 1529. Item, to William Criſtefon, meſſinger, þat paſt to þe Lord Gray,[1] with directions of þe Lordis of Secrete Counſal, xx ſ.

Sept. 7, 1532. Item, to ane boy to rynn furth of Sanctiohneſtoun, with ane writting to þe Lord Gray, in Fowlis, for money awand be him to þe Kingis Grace, ... xx đ.

Sept. 24. Item, þe xxiiij day of September, to ane boy to rynn to þe Lord Gray, for money awand to þe Kingis Grace, and for ane rentall of þe Erle of Craufurdis propertie, ... viij ſ.

Nov. 12. Item, lettres depeſchit furth of Falkland, be Maiſter George Cuke, to þe Biſchope of Sanctandrois, þe Lord Gray, &c., for ane conventioun to be had in Edinburgh, ... xl ſ.

Junij 13, 1533. Item, to ane man þat raid furth of Sanctiohneſtoun to Fowlis to þe Lord Gray, to caus him put þe Lard of Powreis gudis vnder fens, for þe ſlauchter of Thomas Fotheringhame, . iij ſ.

Item, to ane boy to pas furth of Striueling to þe Lord Gray, with writtingis for the Lard of Powreis eſchete, ... v ſ.

July 21. Item, þe xxj day of July to Cuthbert George, m. to pas to inbring dettis owing be Gilbert Gray[2] and vþeris in Angus, xx ſ.

Aug. 31. Item, to Dauid Dronane, to pas with lettres chargeing þe Lord Gray to content to our Souerane Lord, or his Theſaurer, þe ſoume of iiij^{c} merkis within vj daies, vnder þe pane of rebellioun, . x ſ.

Sept. 8. Item, to ane meſſinger to pas with þe Kingis wrytingis to þe Erle Rothes and Lord Gray for þe Conventioun, . . x ſ.

Nov. 28. Item, þe xxviij day of Nouember, to James Murray, meſſinger, to pas to the Lord Gray, to inbring certane ſowmes of money awand to þe Kingis Grace to the Theſaurer, ... xx ſ.

[1] Patrick, fourth Lord Gray.

[2] Probably Gilbert Gray of Buttergask.

Dec. 17. Item, þe xvij day of December, to Andro Meſar, meſſinger, to paswith clois writingis to þe Erlis Rothois, Montros and Lord Gray, xx ſ̃.

Jan. 2. Item, to Cuthbert George, meſſinger, þe ſecund day of Januar, to pas to þe Lord Gray, for certane money awand be him to þe Kingis Grace, ... x ſ̃.

Aug. 28, 1534. Item, to William Duncane, meſſinger, to pas to charge þe Lord Gray to cum againe to þe Chekker, . xiij ſ̃.

Merche, 1536. Item, þe ſamyn day to Bute purſevant, to pas with ſiclik lettres to the Biſchopis of Sanctandrois and Brechen, Lordis Gray, &c. (for þair honeſt prepareing agane þe Kingis Graces hamecuming etc.) . . . . . xl ſ̃.

April, 1537. Item, to Carrik purſevant, for his expenſis paſſing to all partes on þe ſey coiſt to caus þe marynaris þat ſuld pas in France with þe ſchippes, cum to Leith and reſſaue þair wagis, . . .

Item, to ane boy for paſſing with ſiclik writingis to Sir Johne Campbell, and to þe Lord Gray, to caus þair men within Angus cum, v ſ̃.

Julij. Item, to Johne Paterſoun, for his expenſis paſſing with lettres to ſummond ane aſſiſe to be on þe Lord Ruthvennis inqueſt, and vþeris, for þe oppreſſioun done to Alexander Gray of Ballegarno,[1] xxxiiij ſ̃.

Aug. Item, deliuerit to William Hardy, meſſinger, for paſſing with þe Kingis lettres to Dundè, till mak inhibitioun be oppin proclamatioun, þat nane by þe Lord Grayis landis, &c. . . . xxviij ſ̃.

June 20, 1541. Item, þe xx day of Junij, gevin to Johnne Cobe, to pas in Angus, and charge Patrik Gray,[2] to deliuer þe Lord Grayis evidentis, and all vþeris, be opin proclamatioun, . . . xxij ſ̃.

July 6. Item, gevin to Patrik Thomſoun, for his expenſis paſſing to Angus to arreſt þe Grayis geir, and inbringing of dettis, . xxx ſ̃.

Jan. 24, 1543. Item, þe xxxiiij day of Januar, to ane boy ſend furth of Striueling with ane writting of my Lord Gouernouris to þe Lord Gray

[1] The Grays of Ballegarno were descended of Andrew Gray, son of the first Lord Gray.

[2] Patrick Gray of Buttergask, afterwards fifth Lord Gray. This and the following entry appear to refer to the subject of the letter by King James V., printed in the Appendix, p. iv.

in þe Blaknes,[1] and ane other to þe Abbot of Dunnfermling, and for his travell, and with þe anfer agane to Sanct Johnſtoun, . . v ℈.

Jan. 27. Item, to ane boy ſend furth of Dundè to þe Blaknes with ane writting to þe Lord Gray, ... v ℈.

Jan. 31. Item, þe ſamyn day to ane other boy ſend furth of Aberbrothok with ane writting of my Lord Gouernoris to þe Blaknes for my Lord Gray, ... v ℈.

Oct. 25, 1544. Item, þe xxv day of October, to Adam Foreman, maſer, direct to Sanct Johnſtoun to tak aſſurance betuyx my Lord Gray and the Laird of Cragy, ... xl ℈.

Nov. 25, 1546. Item, þe ſamyn day John Forſythe, meſſinger, letteris to poinde for certane vnlawes in Angus; togidder with cloſit writtingis to þe Lordes Gray, Ogilwye, &c. . . . . xxx ℈.

Merche 13. Item, to Barre, meſſinger, cloſit writtinges of my Lord Gouernoures, directt to my Lorde Gray in Angus, . . xiiij ℈.

July 1, 1547. Item, to Mr Johnne Forſythe letteris of proclamatioun directt to Cowper, and all þe townnes vpoun þe coiſt ſyde, chairgeing þame þat þai ſuld remaine vpoun þe coiſt ſyde, nochtwithſtanding þe rumor ryſſyn of þe departing of þe Ingliſche ſchippes; and þat þai keip þair dyet to conveine at Peblis the xij day of July inſtant; togidder with miſſivis to all þe gentillmen of Fyfe to keip þe ſamyn, . xxx ℈.

Item, Hwtoun, ſicklik myſſives to þe Abbot of Lundores, Lordes Glammys, Gray, Ogilwye, &c. . . . . xxx ℈.

Aug. 23. Item, xxiij° Auguſti, my Lord Gouernouris Grace and Counſale being ſurely advertiſt þat þe army of Ingland wes at handis, To Mathew Stratherne, meſſinger, letteris of proclamatioun, with þe fire croce to Kincardine, Aberdene, &c.; and billis agane to the Erllis of Huntlie, Arrole, and Maiſter of Forbes.

Item, Hwtoun, ſicklike letteris, with the fire croce, to Fyfe and Forfair, with billis to þe Erllis of Rothes, Craufurde, Lordis Gray, &c.

Dec. Item, my Lord Gouernour and my Lord of Dunkeld being in Perth, hyrit tua horſs, and ſend with gawillockes, pikes and mattokis, to

[1] Patrick fifth Lord Gray. He appears to have been at this time warded in Blackness Castle.

haue affailyeit þe hous of Huntlie, in cais þe famyn had nocht bene randerit to þame, ix dayes wages, ilk horfe vpoun þe day iij ß; fumma, lvj ß.

Item, to Dauid Dog and Williame Thekar, mafones and quariouris fend with þame, ... iiij ℔. x ß.

Item, be his Graces commande, to Dauid Dog to pas to Huntlie to bear his expenfis, ... v ℔.

Dec. 18. Item, xviij Decembris, to Johne Hart, meffinger, letteris direct, chargeing certane perfones within þe Lord Grayes houffes of Huntlie to deliuer þe fame to þe Tutour of Petcur and Laird of Inchemertyne, to be kept be him to þe Quenis Grace behufe; and letteris to þe faid Tutor to reffaue þe fame.

Item, to ane other boy fend to Perth to my Lorde Dunkeld with fummondis of treffoun rafit vpoun þe Lord Gray, . . . x ß.

Dec. 31. Item, to Sir Johnne Mortimar direct furth of Edinburgh, with ane writting of my Lord Gouernouris to my Lord Gray, xlv ß.

Januar. Item, þe tyme of my Lorde Grayis entrè in waird within þe Caftell of Edinburgh, boucht foure lokes to be hung vpoun foure durris within þe faid caftell, ... xx ß.

Apr. 1558. Item, þe ix day of Aprile, to Alexander Cunnyngham, meffinger, paffand of Edinburgh with lettres of proclamatioun to þe mercat croces of þe fherefdomes of Forfair and Kincardine, chargeing all and findrie erlis, lordis, baronis, and frehalderis, etc., That þai, weill bodin in feir of weir, addrefs þame to cum forwartis, and be in þe townis of Dunfs and Langtoun þe xviij day of Aprile inftant, with xv dais victualis efter þair cumming, vnder þe pane of tinfale of life, landis and guidis, etc. Togidder with clois writtingis of þe Quenis Grace to þe Erle Mercheale, Craufurde, Lordis Gray and Innermaith, and to þe effect foirfaid, lv ß.

Aug. 1561. Item, þe vij day of Auguft, to Peter Craik, meffinger, paffand of Edinburgh with clois writtings of þe Lordis of Secreit Counfale, to þe Erle of Rothes, Lordis Gray, Glammis, &c. to be in Edinburgh with þair honorable cumpaneis to þe Queins Grace enteres furth of France, agane þe laft day of Auguft, ... xl ß.

Item, þe thrid day of December, to ane boy paffand of Edinburgh with ane clois writting of the Queins Grace to my Lord Gray, . ix ß.

Marche 8, 1561. Item, þe ſaid day Williame Logane, meſſinger, paſſand of Edinburgh, with lettres to chairge Johne Ogiluy of Innerkeilour to mak payment of þe ſowme of xxxiij ℔ vj ℈ viij ₰, as cautioun and ſouertie for Agnes Gray, Ladie of Reſtalrig,[1] . . . . . xx ℈.

Aug. 1562. Item, þe ſecund day of Auguſt, to Johne Paterſone, herauld, paſſand of Edinburgh, with lettres of proclamatioun to þe mercat croces within þe ſherefdomes of Forfare and Kincardin, chargeing all and ſundrie erlis, lordis, barones, landit men and frehalderis within þe ſaidis bounds, that thai, with þair freinds and ſubſtantius houſhald men, addres þame to meit our Souerane Ladie at Abirdene þe xxiiij day of Auguſt inſtant, and þair to await for þe ſpace of ane moneth. Togidder with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to þe Erlis Merſcheale, Craufurde, Lordis Glammis, Gray, and Innermaith, to þe effect foirſaid, iiij ℔.

Item, þe ſaid xix day of October, to ane boy paſſand of Abirdene, with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to the Abbote of Cowpar, Lordis Glammis, Gray, &c. . . . . xxvj ℈.

May 6, 1565. Item, þe ſaid day to ane boy paſſand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of þe Quenis Grace to þe Erlis Merſchell, Craufurde, Lordis Gray, &c. . . . . xxxiij ℈. iiij ₰.

Sept. 2. Item, þe ſecund day of September, to ane boy paſſand of Glaſgw, with clois writtingis of our Souerains to þe Erlis of Craufurde, Errole, Lordis Gray, Glammis, &c. . . . . xl ℈.

Jan. 30. Item, þe ſaid day to Robert Skart, poſt, paſſand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of our Souerains to þe Erle of Mar, Lord Gray, &c. . . . . xxiij ℈.

Aprile 14, 1568. Item, þe ſaid day to twa boyis paſſand of Edinburgh at ſundrie tymes, with clois writtingis of þe Comptaris to my Lord Gray, ... xxx ℈.

May. Item, þe firſt day of Maij, to ane boy paſſand of Glaſgw, with clois writtingis of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Lordis Gray, &c. concerning þe affaris of my Lord Ambaſſadour of France, . iij ℔.

[1] She was the daughter of Patrick fifth Lord Gray, and married, first, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig; secondly, Alexander fifth Lord Home; and thirdly, Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, High Treasurer of Scotland.

Aprile 27, 1569. Item, þe ſaid day, to ane boy paſſand of Edinburgh, with ane clois writting of my Lord Regentis Grace to my Lord Gray, ... xiij ℈ iiij đ.

Sept. 23. Item, þe ſaid day, to ane boy paſſand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of þe Comptaris to my Ladie Gray,[1] . . xx ℈.

Aug. 1571. Item, the ferd day of Auguſt, to ane boy paſſand of Leyth, with clois writtings of my Lord Regentis Grace to the Lords Gray, Ogilvy, &c. . . . . x ł.

March 1572. Item, þe laſt day of Merche, to Andro Annand, maſſenger, paſſand with lettres of Leith, to charge Patrik Lord Gray, James Crychtoun of Ruthvenn, to compeir befoir my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Secreit Counſil, the tent day of Aprile nixtocum, to anſuer to ſic thingis as ſould be laid to þair charge. Togidder with lettres to charge James Lord Ogilvy to departe of þis cuntrie, conforme to his licence, betuix and þe firſt day of Maij nixtocum, with certificatioun, etc. . . . . vj ł.

May 14. Item, þe ſaid day, to ane boy paſſand of Leith, with clois writing of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Erles Craufuird, Merſchell, Buchane, Lords Glammis and Gray, ...

Februar 28. Item, for expenſſis maid be Gawin Ramſay, meſſenger, vpoun certane taſkaris in threſhing of þe cornis in Gogar, perteining to Dame Agnes Gray, Lady Home, hors hyris in carieing of þe ſame to Edinburgh, hous maill, cuſtome, and vther ſmall chargeis; as ane compt ſubſcriuit be þe ſaid Gawin, produceit vpoun compt, beris, xvj ł. xj ℈. ij đ.

Marche 1, 1573. Item, þe ſaid day, to ane boy paſſand of Edinburgh, with ane clois writing of my Lord Regents Grace to þe Lord Gray, xvj ℈.

Feb. 1581. Item, remittit and diſchargit be his Maieſties precept, to his Hienes rycht traiſt couſing and counſalor, Eſme Duicke of Levinox, Erle Dernlie, etc. the compoſitioun of the eſcheit of James Gray,[2] ſone lauchfull to Patrick Lord Gray, as the ſaid precept producit vpoun compt beris, ... 1c lib.

[1] Marion, daughter of James Lord Ogilvy of Airly.

[2] James Gray, fourth son of Patrick fifth Lord Gray.

1582. Item, the third of September, to ane boy paſſand with clois lettres to Lordis Ogilvie, Gray, and Innermeith, &c. iiij ℔. vj ℈. viij ₰.

Junij 1585. Item, deliuerit to Patrik Maſter of Gray, maſter of his Hienes gairdrobe, xlviij elnis of ſmall Holand clayth, to be ſcheittis to his Maieſtie, price of the eln, inde . . . . . j^{c}xx ℔i

Sept. 1585. Item, be his Hienes precept to his traiſt couſing and counſailour, Patrik Maſter of Gray, the compoſitionis of the ſignatouris following, for furneſſing of his Hienes claythis, for the quhilk the Maſter of Gray ſuld be comptable. That is to ſay, the maillis, fermes, and dewties of the landis of Reſtenneth, xxvj ℔ib. xiij ℈. iiij ₰; the eſcheat of Robert Guthrie of Lunane, diſponit to James Gray, bruther to the ſaid Maiſter of Gray, xl ℔; ane remiſſioun to George Erle of Merſchell, etc. ij^{m} ℔; the eſcheat of Gawane Carmichaell, xiij ℔. vj ℈. viij ₰.; ane reſpeict to Stevin Burntfeild, xiij ℔. vj ℈. viij ₰.; ane remiſſioun to Thomas Home, xiij ℔. vj ℈. viij ₰. The eſcheit of Lovell of Balumby, iiij^{c} ℔. Omittis vntane allouance of in þe laſt compt of the lxxxiiij, the compoſitioun of þe diſcharge grantit be his Hienes to Johne Burntfeild, and certane vtheris, as cautioneris for him, of þe pane and vnlaw quherin they wer adiudgit j^{c}xxxiij ℔. vj ℈. viij ₰.; and als reſſauit be the ſaid Patrik fra Sir Robert Meluille of Mordecairnie, knight, Theſaurare depute, ane hundreth crounis, at l ℈. þe pece, extending in þe haill to the ſoum of . . . . . vj^{m}. viij^{c} lxxxx ℔.

Oct. Item, be his Maieſties ſpeciale command, to ane ſervand of the Maſter of Grayes, in drink ſiluer, at þe preſenting of ane hors callit Blacklegis to his Hienes, twa crounis, at l ℈ þe pece, inde, . v ℔.

Item, be his Maieſties precept to Griſſell Hamiltoun, his Hienes ſemſtare, for the furneſſing of certane wark and neceſſaris deliuerit to Patrik Maſter of Gray to his Maieſties vſe, as the ſamin is producit vpoun compt beris, ... j^{c}xx ℔.

Dec. Item, to ane boy paſſand of Lynlythgow, with clois lettres to Patrik Maſter of Gray, Commendatare of Dunfermeling, Commendatare of Culros, Lord Gray,[1] &c., ... iiij ℔. xj ℈.

[1] Patrick sixth Lord Gray.

Item, to ane boy paſſand of Lynlythgow with a clois lettre to Dunfermeling to þe Maſter of Gray, ... xiij ſ. iiij đ.

May 1586. Item, the Comptare aucht to be diſcharged of the ſoum of thre thouſand thre hundreth threttie thre pundis, ſex ſchillings aucht pennies, reſauit be Patrik Maſter of Gray fra the Proveſt of Lynclouden, becaus the compter has chargit him þerwith, vj^{m}. iij^{c}xxxiij ł. vj ſ. viij đ. The Master of Gray grantit the ressait of this sowme.

Feb. 1587. Item, to ane boy paſſand of Edinburgh with clois letters to þe Lordis Gray and Sinclair, &c., ...

Oct. 1590. The Comptar aucht to be diſchargit of þe ſowmes of money underwritten, whereof a part receiued by his Maieſtie. Lykwayis be his Maieſtie þe compoſitioun of the eſcheat and lyfrent of Patrik Lord Gray, extending to . . . . . iiij^{c}xl ł.

Nov. 1592. Item, to John Henderſon, meſſenger, and ane trumpetour with him paſſand to þe mercat-croce of Edinburgh, to proclame ſummonds of treſſoun agains Patrik Maſter of Gray, &c., to compear in þe parliament to be halden in the tolbuthe of Edinburgh, in the moneth of Januare nixt, to anſwer, etc., ... xiij ł vj ſ. viij đ.

June 1593. Item, to Niniane Weir, meſſenger, paſſand to Edinburgh, with lettres to command and charge James Gray, ſone lauchfull to Patrik Lord Gray, to exhibite and produce Margaret Carnegie, perſonallie befoir his Maieſtie and Lordes of Secret Counſale, vpoun the xxj day of Junij inſtant, vnder the pane of rebellioun, after the forme and tenour of the ſaidis lettres, ... v ł.

Feb. 1594. Item, to William Scot, meſſenger, paſſand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Lord Gray, and Patrik Maiſter of Gray, Sheref principall of Forfare; as alſua all and ſindrie þe barrownis and landit men duelland to landwart within the boundis of þe ſaid ſherfdome, and þe proveſt, bailies, counſall and communitie of Dundie, to demoliſche, and caus be demoliſchit, the place, hous, and fortalice of Craig, betuix and the tent day of Merche nixtocum, vnder the pane of rebellioun, v ł.

May 1595. Item, to John Bannatyne, meſſenger, paſſand of Edinburgh with lettres to command and charge Lodouik Duke of Lennox, Archibald Erle of Argyle, John Erle of Mar, the Conſtable of Dundie, the lairds of Towcht, Sauchy, and Langſchaw, as cautioners on þe ane parte: John

Erle of Athole, Patrik Maiſter of Gray, James Gray his brother, Thomas Stewart of Garntulie, James Stewart of Touchis, Mr Patrik Quhytlaw of Newgrange, his cautioners on þe vther parts; Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir, knyght, John Murray of Polmais, John Erſkyne of Balgonie, his cautioners; William Schaw of Knokhill, the laird of Sauchy his cautioner; the laird of Merchaiſtoun eldare and younger; to enter and preſent certane of þe M^cGregors and other broken men of þe Hielandis, to compeir and vnderly ordour anent peace and quietnes, . . xv ℔. vj ſ. viij ₰.

Auguſt 1595. Item, be his Hienes ſpeciall command delyverit to Patrik Maiſter of Gray, maiſter of the garderob, ane littill coffer to contene the Princes claithis, ... viij ℔.

Dec. 1595. Item, to ane boy paſſand of Edinburgh with clois lettres to the Erle Merſchell, Lord Gray and Spynie, the Maiſter of Gray, vj ℔.

Nov. 1596. Item, to ane uther boy paſſand of Edinburgh with clois letteris to the Erle of Rothes, Lordis Lindſay, Gray, Conſtable of Dundy, Lairdis of Balweiry, Lundy, Eiſter and Weſter Weymis, Torrie, and Bonyntoun, for wyld meit and venieſoun to the baptiſme of the Princes, and to cum and tak part thairof thameſelffis the xxviij of this inſtant, v ℔.

May 1598. Item, to John Downy, meſſenger, paſſand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Maiſter of Gray, ſheref of Forfair, to compeir afoir the Counſall the viij day of Junij nixt, to anſuer vpoun his diligence in the execution of the commiſſion grantit to him aganis Patrik Lord Gray, Alex. Lawder of Vmoquhie, Henrie Futhie of Boyſak, and certane vthers rebellis within the boundis of his office, vnder the pane of rebellioun, v ℔.

Oct. 1599. Item, to Walter Forſyth, meſſenger, paſſand with lettres to the mercat croce of Edinburgh and peir of Leith, and thairat be oppin proclamacioun ſumonding Alexander Lord Home and Patrik Maiſter of Gray, vpone lx dayis warning, to compeir befoir þe Lordis of Seſſioun, and heir declaratour gevin on thair lyverentis, . . . xx ſ.

Item, to George Cuninghame, officer in þat part, paſſand with þe ſamin lettres to ſumond þe ſaid Patrik Maiſter of Gray at þe mercat croce of Forfar and his duelling hous of Huntlie, . . iij ℔.

Jan. 1600. Item, to Richart Bowmaker, ſheriff in that part, paſſand of Edinburgh with lettres to ſummond Patrik Lord Gray, Johne Ogilvie

of Innerquhartie, and Thomas Lyoun of Coſſuns, to compeir befoir þe Lords of Seſſioun the xxv of Februar nixt, to heir declaratour pronuncit on thair eſcheit and lyverentis, ... iiij ł.

Aprile. Item, to William Baxter, ſheriff in þat pairt, paſſand of Edinburgh with lettres to ſummond Robert Logane of Liſtarik, Maiſtres Marie Stewart, ſpous to Patrik Maiſter of Gray, and the ſaid Patrik Maiſter of Gray, be oppin proclamatioun at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, peir and ſchoir of Leith, and mercat croce of Forfar, to compeir befoir the Lords of Seſſioun to heir þame decernit to pay the ſoume of xij^{c} merks, etc. . . . . iij ł.

Aprile 1602. Item, to ane boy paſſand of Brechin with clois lettres to the laird of Poury Fothringhame, . . . Dowglas, dochter to the Erle of Angus, and Jeane Gray, dochter to the Maiſter of Gray, xx s̃.

Dec. Item, to William Forſyth, meſſenger, paſſand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Maiſter of Gray to pas and entir his perſoun in wairde in the place of Huntlie, within thrie dayis, vndir the paine of rebellioun, ... v ł.